

The Nation

Vol. CXIV, No. 2965

FOUNDED 1865

Wednesday, May 3, 1922

MARYLAND: Apex of Normalcy *by H. L. Mencken*

Second Article
of the Series
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By *ART YOUNG*

"Looking on"

A Page of
Drawings of
Current Events

CHINA

Manchuria, Mongolia, and Siberia	<i>Paul S. Reinsch</i>
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The Educational Transition in China	<i>Maurice T. Price</i>
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China and Soviet Russia Agree	<i>Documents</i>

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IT is no longer necessary to argue the greatness of the Chinese people to any group of thoughtful people. That is attested abundantly by their character and history. Wise men now talk neither of the futile East nor of the changeless East. And we are growing too modest about our own civilization to repeat condescendingly:

Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay.

If, then, generous and far-seeing minds are anxious for China it is not because of distrust of her people but because of appreciation of the extraordinary difficulties of her position and of the incalculable consequences to mankind if she should be forced into the wrong road. The pressure of the West is compelling her to make revolutionary readjustments in the face of open foes and hypocritical friends. The weakness of her central government was not of primary importance to the China of settled customs whose real life was guided by village councils and industrial guilds. It is of vast importance when strongly organized nations press for advantage. The very excellence of some of China's customs, the very industry of her people may make her an easier prey to the exploitation of foreign capital. And the relentless exploitation of China, economic and political, is

filled with danger for all of us. That is why it is so vitally necessary that all men of good will should come to an understanding not merely of the superficial politics of China but of her deeper life, the forces that menace her, and the way in which she and we together may find salvation. To that understanding we hope that this issue of *The Nation* may contribute.

IN the great coal strike public notice is withdrawn for the moment from Pennsylvania and the Middle West and is concentrated on the little hamlet of Charles Town (not Charleston), West Virginia. There, sixty-three years ago, John Brown was hanged for his ideals and on April 24 last the trial of 500 persons was begun on charges of treason, murder, and conspiracy growing out of the miners' march over the mountains late last summer to rescue their comrades in Logan and Mingo counties. The trial was preceded by an act typical of the folly and partisanship of West Virginia justice when dealing with miners. Nine unfortunate men who had been unable to obtain bail were brought into town and on Sunday and by daylight were marched through the streets, handcuffed and chained together, to the local jail. The prisoners had been manacled thus for seventeen hours and the deputy sheriffs in charge of the party did not even know how to remove the shackles from the bruised wrists of the men, having to call in an outsider. Only by grace of Providence, and in spite of the foolhardiness of public officials, was the State spared a riot on the eve of a trial due to conditions none of which has been changed or remedied since. For this is the significant fact, overtopping any evidence produced: the State is going through a costly and tedious judicial rigmarole which must prove barren as the Sahara and futile as water over the dam until some effort is made to remove the injustice and tyranny which caused the uprising—and which, unless relieved, will produce another.

WHILE the trial proceeds at Charles Town, incidents good and bad are reported elsewhere. Among the first may be mentioned a temporary modification of the injunction of United States Judge McClintic, who had forbidden efforts at organizing the non-union miners of the State and had ordered the dispersal of the tent colonies in Mingo County. An appeal has been taken from this extraordinary order to the United States Circuit Court in Richmond, Virginia, but pending its decision the injunction has virtually been overthrown by the ruling of Circuit Judge Knapp at Charleston, the West Virginia State capital. This is as it should be, but meanwhile comes news from Pittsburgh to be set down on the debit side of the ledger. Judge C. P. Orr of the United States Court is reported to have asked two members of the United Mine Workers, appearing before him to be made citizens, if they were on strike. They replied in the affirmative, whereupon the judge refused the application, telling the men that if they would go back to work he would then be willing to grant them citizenship. This sounds so remarkable as to excite

disbelief, but from previous experience we are unfortunately aware that what ought to be the incredible happens in the steel region of Pennsylvania.

IRISH workers greatly served their country by initiating the protest strike against militarism which received general support from all sections of the people. Labor has its feet on the ground; it knows that militarism and military dictatorship are evil things; it is interested neither in the personal politics of certain leaders nor in metaphysical nationalism. The things it cares for have a relation to freedom and well-being. But the encouragement that labor has brought to Ireland does not extend to Ulster. Militarism in Ireland has as yet abstained from bloodshed; in Belfast the bigotry aroused by an unscrupulous imperialism which plays upon fanatical Protestantism has since April 1, according to a statement by the Catholic Protective Committee, taken this terrible toll:

Catholics murdered, 14 men, 3 women, and 4 children; attempted murders, 27; wounded, 39; houses looted and burned, 75; houses bombed, 5; families evicted, 89.

The chief offenders in these pogroms are the "Ulster Specials" for whose support the British Government recently gave over one million pounds.

THE success of Mahatma Gandhi's campaign for the boycott of English goods and the substitution of cloth manufactured in India has provoked an economic counterstroke on the part of the British authorities. According to the proposed new Indian budget the excise duty on Swadeshi cloth is to be raised from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The duty on imported cloth is also raised 4 per cent, but the price of the cheaper foreign cloth will be little affected. The Swadeshi cloth, produced at higher cost and purchased for patriotic reasons, can ill afford the further rise in price which will inevitably follow the doubling of the excise tax. Moreover, the budget provides for a duty of 5 per cent on the imported yarn used in the manufacture of Swadeshi cloth. This means that the poverty-stricken Indian masses will have to make very real financial sacrifices in order to follow out Gandhi's teachings by wearing only homespun garments. Their plight is made still worse by the greed of the Indian cotton manufacturers, some of whom have made enormous profits—dividends ranging from 40 to 140 per cent—out of the swollen demand due to Gandhi's teaching. Indian resentment is keen against these profiteers but even keener against the British budget-makers, for while the budget is submitted for discussion to the Indian Legislative Assembly it is not subject to revision or final change by any body remotely representative of the Indian people.

AT last New York's political prisoners have been granted the usual privilege of bail pending appeal. For eighteen months they have been imprisoned because no judge would grant them the certificate of reasonable doubt which is a prerequisite, under New York procedure, for admission to bail while a case is fought through to the highest court. The judge's act followed a remarkably able argument on behalf of himself and Ruthenberg by Isaac Ferguson, one of the prisoners. Judge Cardozo expressed doubt as to the applicability of the criminal anarchy law to any of the so-called communist cases. This action marks a forward step in the return of our judiciary to sanity. We wish that we could report like progress in the case of Federal political prisoners. It is to the credit of Congress that fifty Con-

gressmen were found to sign a petition for amnesty. Even more interesting was the petition of the marine transport workers branch of the I. W. W. in Philadelphia asking amnesty for four of their members. In support thereof they recite their war record, which among other things includes the facts that they "loaded all explosives that left this port before and after the United States Government entered the war with Germany, and not a single accident of any kind took place at docks or on ships loaded by our organization."

THE people of Detroit have finally taken over their entire city traction system, ending a fight for municipalization that was begun by Mayor Pingree twenty-seven years ago and has since been carried through almost innumerable elections and court proceedings. The fight was virtually won in 1920 when, under the leadership of Mayor Couzens, the city took over fifty-five miles of track on which the franchise of the Detroit United Railways had expired and voted to construct new lines totaling 163 miles. In the special election on April 17, 1922, 81 per cent of the votes cast authorized the city to purchase for \$19,850,000 all the remaining urban tracks of the D. U. R., together with barns and cars, thus leaving in private hands only an interurban system. The best part of it is that the city is operating its lines successfully on a five-cent fare.

OUT of the hocus-pocus in Washington and elsewhere over the bonus come the words of Senator Borah in an overtone of sanity and courage. His answer to a post of the American Legion which threatened to drive him from public life because of his opposition to a dole for soldiers is a document which deserves to be preserved from the oblivion of the Congressional wastebasket and should win the respect even of those opposed to the writer's position on the particular question at issue. "I would do anything within my power which I felt was in accordance with my duty here to retain the friendship and respect of the former service men," he writes with regret. And then:

When you come to that fight in which you propose to inflict punishments you will doubtless be able to say many things in the way of censure upon my public service. But one thing neither you nor anyone else will be able to say, and that is that I ever sought to purchase political power by drafts upon the public treasury, or that I chose to buy a continuation in office by putting \$4,000,000,000 upon the bended backs of American taxpayers. I haven't much respect for the man who buys office, even though he pays for it with his own money. But the most slimy creature which disgraces American politics is the man who buys office by paying for it with appropriations out of the public treasury and charges his venal political obligations to the taxpayers.

AN intelligent foreigner reading Mr. Samuel Gompers's interesting colloquies with Mr. Samuel Untermyer on the rights and immunities of labor might conclude that the veteran president of the American Federation of Labor was a convinced believer in the class struggle—probably a syndicalist—who was firmly persuaded that the state and the courts were tools of the employing class. This same foreigner might be compelled to admit a certain force to Mr. Gompers's argument that the courts had done less than justice to the poor and that they had been far from neutral in the industrial conflict. He might be skeptical whether the attempt to remedy labor abuses by law would prove much more successful in practice than the attempt to curb great cor-

porations, the failure of which Mr. Untermyer himself has vigorously deplored. But what would be the foreigner's surprise to discover that this vigorous exponent of syndicalism, Samuel Gompers, actually defends the craft system of organization which led to jurisdictional disputes between workers! When Mr. Untermyer pointed out to him that such a dispute between plumbers and steam-fitters had delayed for six months the erection of a \$30,000,000 powerhouse, Mr. Gompers only said that it was "greatly regrettable." Therein lies Mr. Gompers's weakness as a constructive labor leader. This unwitting syndicalist is by a curious inconsistency a craft unionist, a political Democrat, a bitter foe of all varieties of radicalism, and an orthodox believer in "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work" as an adequate slogan for labor. He will aid neither Mr. Untermyer's effort to make the present state an instrument of fair dealing nor the radical's effort to create a new social order in which the reason for the old implacable conflicts will have been removed.

MARSHAL JOFFRE is to be in America at the time of the centenary of the birth of General Grant. Will he reflect, one wonders, on the evanescence of the fame of great captains? For Grant was a great captain who led the victorious armies in a great war, but his centenary is attracting comparatively little popular interest in the country he did so much to hold together. Perhaps his fame has suffered because his virtues and talents were so undramatic, perhaps his failure as president overshadowed his victory as general. Yet never was a military leader less of a militarist. Ambrose White Vernon in the *New Republic* reminds us that "on refusing to review troops abroad he confessed to the German Crown Prince 'I am more of a farmer than a soldier; I never went into the army without regret and I never returned from it without pleasure.'" He knew what our modern generals have refused to learn—namely, that no victory is worth while which is not followed by a real peace. History might have been different had Foch and Haig and Pershing spoken and acted in the spirit of the man who refused his adversary's sword, stopped the salute of one hundred guns, and allowed "every Confederate private a horse and mule with which to begin farming." That act ought to immortalize our plebeian hero.

THE Senator from Georgia is talking to the Senator from Mississippi on the immigration issue—in the Senate, April 15:

MR. WATSON: Has the Senator studied this question from the standpoint of the vast increase of crime in this country? Does he see any connection between foreign immigration and the increase in crime?

MR. HARRISON: I think there is no doubt that crime increases according to the increase of undesirable immigration into the country. . . .

MR. WATSON: I call the Senator's attention to the fact that in nearly every one of the brutal, fearful crimes, which seem to be organized, systematized . . . the names of the leading criminals are foreign names. They are not American names. The two States having most lynchings are represented by these gentlemen. From 1889 to April 24, 1922, 431 persons including seven women were done to death by Georgia mobs. In the same period in Mississippi 408, including thirteen women, were similarly murdered. A considerable portion of these "brutal" and generally "organized" crimes were accompanied by unspeakable tortures, some of the victims

being burned at the stake while crowds, including women and even children, looked on. While the investigating juries invariably report death "at the hand of persons unknown," one may venture without fear of contradiction that the names of these *incogniti* are not foreign. Indeed the lynching industry is an institution wholly American but one whose infamy may be materially lessened by the enactment of the Dyer bill recently passed by the House and now in the hands of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary.

EVERY now and then we have to speak approvingly even of Congress. We do so without shame as we read that by special act it has just admitted free of duty a set of bells for the Portuguese fisher-folk of the Church of Our Lady of Good Voyage in Gloucester, Massachusetts. For years the congregation had longed for a carillon like those that hang in the open towers of their churches back home but are not made in this country. Arduously they raised \$10,000 and ordered the bells from Europe. The carillon arrived—but the American Government demanded \$4,000 as duty! Tragic, but the law. Then ex-Representative Lufkin, together with Representatives Treadway and Andrew, all of Massachusetts, got into action and induced Congress to pass a bill exempting from duty the bells for Our Lady of Good Voyage. Well done! The age of the great bell-makers preceded the settlement of most of America and we have never had our share of this kind of music. To counteract the raucous automobile-horn and the grinding street car, we need more of the wild, joyous peals of southern Europe and the calm, sonorous chimes of England and Holland. So ring out, bells of Our Lady of Good Voyage! Ring back your fishermen from the fogs of Georges and the Grand Banks to a safe and sunny harbor!

THE *American Magazine*, the Independent Corporation, and kindred extension courses in "making good" have latterly made plain that the "go-getter" is the *beau ideal* of contemporary America. But never did they suggest that the process of "getting there" need or should include marked cards, false whiskers, or double bottoms. Yet here, Anno Domini 1922, we read in a review, printed on page 538 of this issue, of a method created and related by William E. Aughinbaugh, editor, doctor, lawyer, author, and teacher, for capturing Latin-American trade by scrapping, among other things, the eighth commandment. Specifically, this is Dr. Aughinbaugh's prescription for garnering an honest peso: (a) defraud the custom-house; (b) bribe freely; (c) appeal to the sexual passions; (d) prostitute religion. That our expert is, according to Who's Who, a director in sixteen corporations, and foreign and export editor of the *New York Commercial*, is bad enough. That he is also professor of foreign trade at New York University makes one wonder whether the Faginizing of American business has the definite sanction of our universities.

WHILE Lady Nancy Astor, M.P. and F.F.V. (which symbols, it may be explained to those unfamiliar with the British peerage, stand for Master Politician and Fast Flying Virginian), is creating such a furore here, another great American is playing his part well in Europe. We refer, of course, to Mr. Jack Dempsey, than whom as a prizefighter there is none more than-whomer. He is doing the grand tour with scrupulous regard for tradition and American honor. In London the first thought of Jack

Dempsey, Esq., was to ask after the health of Westminster Abbey and the Tower, while he astonished the populace by declining champagne and by his extraordinary ability to take punishment in the way of luncheons. (Perhaps the two had some connection.) In Paris M. Jack Dempsey waved aside with dignity the proposal to see the gaieties of Montmartre. "The Louvre, perhaps, then?" suggested someone. Ah, yes, that was what he wanted—the educational side of life in France. "Although tomorrow," he added a trifle shamedly, "I have to go to the races at Longchamps." As for French wines, "No, I never drink"; and then, aside, "Besides, there is plenty in America." The perfection of patriotism, this seems to us. Could devotion to home and home brew go farther? We suffocate with pride at the contemplation of our Jack abroad. If we were a street urchin we would shout "You tell 'em, Jack; you're a Giant Killer."

GIVE life time and it often catches up with literature. Lophin with its faint glimmer, luciferin with its chill blue glare, neon glowing in the laboratories of Germany—these "cold lights," as the papers call them, do what fireflies have done for centuries in poems and what the phosphorescent creatures of the sea have done in the pages of innumerable romantic tales. Boys and girls, guided by fiction, have imprisoned thousands of "lightning bugs" under inverted glasses and tried to play checkers or parchesi by the illumination. And in the most moon-drenched and night-haunted of English novels, "The Return of the Native," Thomas Hardy has an unforgettable chapter in which Damon Wildevre and Diggory Venn play for precious stakes, on the dim heath, by the light of glow-worms. If the promise of these "cold lights" keeps up, the time may come when all nocturnal gambling will depend upon the same—or similar—rays and when the will-o'-the-wisp and the firefly will be the sole lanterns of love and burglary and insomnia. Prophecy goes on! It now appears that Shakespeare had radio in mind when he said: "The air is full of voices"; and that another poet foresaw "cold light" when he declared: "The night has a thousand eyes."

THE gay young insurgents of American literature are cultivating the habit—started by the cheapness of material and labor—of publishing their revolutionary magazines in Europe. The first and handsomest of these ventures was *Broom*, founded in Rome by Alfred Kreymborg and still coming from there. It is not only magnificent; it is the least young and gay of them all. Edgar Lee Masters writes for it, and John Gould Fletcher and Louis Untermeyer. From the point of view of the latest comers in our literature these are almost classic names. Next appeared *Gargoyle*. It comes from Paris and talks esoterically about the theater, and like *Broom*, though in a simpler way, goes in for post-post-impressionist painting. Last comes, very plainly garbed, *Secession*. It is published in Vienna; the average age of its contributors is around twenty; its master and inspiration appears to be Tristan Tzara, the Franco-Rumanian Dadaist. It seems a good deal like drivel even to ears not yet made deaf by age. But the experimentation of youth is the life-blood of the arts. From quaint little groups of innovators great literary passions and forms have often arisen. To have such groups at all is a sign that our literature is in the truest sense alive.

Amenities vs. Realities

THE Pan-American Conference of Women at Baltimore, brought together by the National League of Women Voters, has been an interesting experiment in international amity. In a vigorous discussion of the social and industrial problems of women the delegates forgot, or amiably ignored, not only their possible grievances against the United States, but also their grievances against each other. Chile and Peru and Bolivia peaceably compared notes on child welfare and the civil status of women, and Tacna and Arica were for the moment unimportant. The Dominican delegate proclaimed as the national ideal of her native land "happy homes in a free country"—the only reference to the deplorable state of servitude of Santo Domingo. Such an atmosphere of international amenity has its value in generating good feeling and understanding. But it must not be used to veil the harsh facts: good feeling is less potent than oil rights, and no mere understanding will serve to deflect the course of American imperialism. An ironic note was struck during the conference by the appearance in the newspapers of the utterances of Senator King on Mexico. Unfortunately his fine stand on Haiti is not reflected in his Mexican attitude. Just when Pan-American friendliness was at its height Senator King arose to remark on the floor of the Senate:

I think that the Administration should let Obregon know he has no chance of being recognized until reparation is had for the murder of more than a thousand innocent Americans, for outrages committed against hundreds of others, for millions of property that has been destroyed. . . . We should demand that Mexico render atonement and justice in these matters. . . . If our demand is ignored we should then ask that the matters in controversy be referred to a proper tribunal for adjustment, and if that request is ignored then the only other alternative would be the blockading of Mexican ports and the seizure of the customs machinery of the country.

It is unlikely that Senator King's threats will be carried into effect; Mexico is engaged in the sorry job of stripping herself, one by one, of all her shreds of socialist practice, and in placating the powers behind the oil. But while Senator King talked, the Mexican delegates to the Pan-American Conference—straightforward, vigorous, well-informed young women—were revealing to their Latin-American colleagues and to the women of the United States a country more alive to the humane aspects of civilization than any other country in this hemisphere with the possible exception of Uruguay. Mexico is feeding its children, giving land to the landless, turning its soldiers into farmers, guarding the lives and the rights of its industrial workers. Freedom of speech is allowed to a degree now almost forgotten in the United States, and some of the delegates sent by the Mexican Government were apparently appointed solely for their ability and in spite of the fact that they belonged to opposition parties—surely the final proof of liberality! Yet Mexico is the only country in the Western Hemisphere which the United States has not recognized. The remarks of Senator King were deprecated at the convention as unfortunate and embarrassing. The Mexican women were applauded time and again. It is to be hoped that some of the thousand or so delegates at Baltimore from all parts of the United States felt some little sting of shame at the situation so dramatically presented.

Fireworks at Genoa

IF two new boys arrived at school, and all the big boys picked on them and bullied them before school, and at noon recess, and after school, and refused to let them into the club shanty, and scared even the little boys out of speaking to them, those two new boys, even if they had never seen each other before and had fought when they first met, would soon be sworn friends. If they did not get together quietly some dark evening and swear eternal friendship "honest and true, black and blue, cross my heart and cut it in two" they would at least have a thorough-going quiet understanding. And none of the big boys would be surprised if, cuffing one of the new boys, some day he should find himself attacked in the rear by the other.

Yet that is precisely what has happened in Europe, and the Great Powers insist on being surprised. For four years Germany and Russia have been kicked and cuffed at first hand and at second hand, openly and secretly, from the front and from the rear, excluded from that great European club, the League of Nations, into which even Albania and Lithuania were admitted, kept out of European conferences, sworn at, called liars, thieves, and sadists, and generally maltreated just as much as the Great Powers knew how. They have been the prize bad boys of Europe, at whom every housewife felt free to take a swipe if they came within reach. Cabinets have been saved by passionate patriotic denunciation of them, diverting attention from less agreed-upon domestic issues. Finally the Great Powers actually condescended to invite them to send representatives to sit as equals in a European Conference. When they got there they found themselves treated as equals of Estonia, Yugoslavia, and Portugal, but, *à la mode de Versailles*, excluded, along with the lesser Powers, from the councils of the High and Mighty where issues were really being decided. Naturally they turned to each other, agreed to let bygones be bygones, and made a treaty of their agreement. Whereupon the Great Powers howled.

France shrieked most shrilly. You would have thought that Rheims had been bombarded, and that the Germans were marching down the Meuse. The Paris papers reverted to the mood of July, 1914. The Germans were concentrating an army in the Ruhr; there was cavalry along the Polish corridor; German and Russian army units were about to fuse. Such rumors sprout whenever statesmen wax angry; none of the historic European crises of the decade before the war was without them. The important point is that they betrayed the mood of France at a moment when Europe was conferring supposedly with a view to peace and reconstruction. What was the crime of the Germans and the Russians? Simply this: They had agreed mutually to forgive each other's debts, to arbitrate such disputes as might arise between them, and to be friends. There were no military clauses in their treaty; there were not even the usual modern clauses about economic concessions. Germany won no special privileges in Russia, and Russia none in Germany. It was, indeed, a model treaty, and the Allies would have been wise to thank the treaty-makers for giving them so shining an example. Premier Lloyd George's anger was obviously half-hearted, intended chiefly for political effect. He has long seen that Allied policy was forcing the two pariah nations to alliance; he is probably ready even to encourage such an alliance if it can be brought

under the British aegis and cemented with British capital.

France's protests have thus far had little effect. Mr. Lloyd George was ready to rebuke the Germans at French behest but not to change his policy. Indeed his warning—"If the British people begin to fear that cooperation with the Allies is leading in any way to the maintenance of feuds in Europe or to the prevention of peace their point of view about maintaining cooperation and continued work with the Allies will change considerably"—was the frankest notice which he has yet given to France. Not so long ago a leader-writer of one of the London dailies closest to Lloyd George privately remarked that "What the world needs now is frank pro-Germanism." It needs to get over the classification of nations into saints and sinners, to face economic problems without war-time prejudice or favoritism; which, at a time when victors have been exploiting their victory, inevitably means pro-vanquished, whoever the vanquished may be. England and America hitherto have failed in objectivity because they were bound to France by sentimental ties. French conduct, first at Washington, and now at Genoa, has done much to break those ties and to abolish what sense of pity for or gratitude to France remained. She refuses so much as to discuss disarmament; she refuses to permit the discredited treaties to come up for revision; she rattles her sword and threatens to invade the Ruhr because Germany dares quietly to make peace with Russia. Her diplomats have at least the negative virtue that they have made it very clear that France—French policy—is today the outstanding obstacle to European peace.

But these fireworks at Genoa have done more than that. It is a curious fact that Germany has been the butt of all abuse, whereas Soviet Russia has had the sympathy of the audience. The center of news interest has been the soviet hotel at Rapallo; Chicherin's toasts and lunches, his top hat, have filled the papers. Soviet diplomacy has frightened, ingratiated, and mastered. These bolshevik statesmen startled the easy-going Westerners with far-reaching claims, amazed them with lightning-like counter-proposals, soothed them with reasonableness at the last. When the Allies talk of impossibly exaggerated debts and absurd extraterritorial rights the Bolsheviks come back with larger claims and bigger demands. When the Allies talk reason they are amazed to find these imperturbable Russians also talking reason. Chicherin's dialectic skill confounds them. The French tell the Bolsheviks that they must assume the Czar's and Kerensky's debts. "Very well," replies Chicherin, "perhaps we will but first let me remark that your demand implies that you recognize us as legal successors of the Czar and of Kerensky." Already the war-time debts have dropped out of the discussions; the Allies are ready to remit interest and to scale down their pre-war claims; Chicherin is bargaining upon this basis for a \$2,000,000,000 loan and recognition. What further renunciations he may make, what further claims he may set up we do not know, but if we were Russians we should feel Russia's fate safe in his hands. He is promising recognition of debts amounting to billions—payable some time in the future, with a moratorium for the present—in return for present gold or goods. And he appears to be succeeding. Whatever fireworks may sparkle or divert attention in the coming weeks of the Genoa show we put our trust in Chicherin.

Who Owns the Coal?

IN the 1919 coal strike the whole country was gripped by a kind of hysteria. In the 1922 strike the same country is profoundly apathetic; its old fear of the strikers has apparently changed to a benevolent if ineffective neutrality toward them. The new attitude is scarcely more favorable than the old to a reasonably satisfactory settlement of our most immediately pressing economic problem. And there is every likelihood that apathy may change to hysteria as the strike continues. Business is recovering. The demand for coal will increase. Let there be an approach to coal famine, and government and public will come into action with no question of justice or of the conditions of a permanent settlement but only with a frantic desire for coal.

Meanwhile the golden days in which the bases for a constructive settlement of the coal dispute might be discussed without hysteria are passing and nothing has been done. Even the measure providing for a governmental fact-finding agency drags along as if there were no emergency at hand. Great as is the need for such a body, we already know that only a thoroughgoing reconstruction of the coal industry will save us from chronic waste and recurring crises. In other industries private ownership has given us men like Rockefeller, Hill, Harriman, Ford, each of whom in varying degree and in spite of justifiable criticism has brought about constructive achievements of social value. One cannot say as much for any coal operator. The anthracite industry is virtually monopolized by the railroads; the bituminous industry is ruinously competitive. The coal operators have made no contribution to efficiency in mining; they have not cut down the terrible risks of an industry which in the last five years has taken toll of over two thousand lives a year; they are prodigally wasting the heritage of posterity; they do not pay their workers an annual wage that approaches the minimum for comfort and decency. So inefficient are they in marketing their product that from April to October, 1921, when the retail consumer was paying about \$10 a ton for bituminous coal the operators, according to their own showing, were receiving an average of \$2.89 and—they claim—actually losing two cents a ton. Most coal owners are merely absentee landlords who know nothing about the industry from which they take toll and those who are active in it scarcely serve any other function than to assemble workers with whom in many fields prior to unionization, as in West Virginia today, they have waged open civil war. The problem in the coal industry or in the development of any indispensable natural resource is how to make it available on the most economical terms to the people of the earth without exploiting the hand and brain workers who make it available. Private ownership is justifiable only if the legal owners are efficient trustees in this task. The owners of our coal mines emphatically do not meet this test.

Any reconstruction must take in account the real parties in interest. These are of course the consumers—and everybody is a consumer—and the workers. We have said "the consumers" rather than "the nation" because it is already apparent that the nationalization of natural resources may prove to be as unjust to the dwellers in less favored parts of the earth as private ownership—and an even more fruitful cause of war. Nevertheless, with regard to the American coal fields, the most immediately practicable representative of the consumers' interest is the Federal Government. Title to coal fields therefore ought to be acquired by the

Government. But the machinery of the political state is ill-equipped to operate the mines. Such operation would probably be bureaucratic, and inefficient. Toward the workers the state in emergencies might prove itself a more despotic and more powerful master than private owners. To protect themselves the workers would be driven to an unwholesome political activity. A sound plan must therefore guard against these dangers, (1) by obtaining expert rather than political management, and (2) by substituting for an imposed autocracy the largest possible measure of self-government. These are the ideas which lie behind Mr. Brophy's interesting plan published in the *Survey Graphic* under the title, *The Miners' Program*. He would separate "control" from "administration."

Control means to know what is actually being done, as well as to order the thing to be done . . . control means a permanent federal inter-state commission of mines, and the eyes of the commission will be a bureau of statistics, with uniform accounting and a research group. At the head is the secretary of mines, a cabinet member.

Actual administration would be carried on by a national and regional councils made up of three kinds of members:

One group will be the administrative heads of the industry—financial, technical, managerial. Another group will be the miners. The third group will represent the coal consumers, the consumers in other allied industries, and the community. The administrative representatives of this threefold national mining council may be appointed by the permanent federal commission of mines. The miners' representatives may be appointed by the United Mine Workers of America. The public representatives may be appointed by the President.

This plan obviously needs development in detail. Under it, for instance, there would still be questions of prices, wage scales, and the power and place of the union, which would not be automatically adjusted. Even with the best possible plan there will be two fundamental difficulties to be overcome. The first is financial. It ought to be possible to purchase the mines at a reasonable valuation, paying for them with government bonds whose costs would be borne by the industry. New capital could be hired if necessary by a government-owned industry without giving control to the investors. The trouble is that under our Constitution and with the enormous power vested in the courts, recalcitrant owners, even if a minority, could tie up any settlement during long litigation and conceivably might defeat it altogether—as the coal operators have heretofore blocked the effort of the Federal Trade Commission to learn the facts. The second difficulty is with the nature of our political and economic system. It is difficult to imagine a democratically and efficiently run coal industry such as Mr. Brophy conceives in the midst of our autocratic profit system. The *New Republic* is so impressed by these difficulties that it declares: "Nationalization now is for us an illusion except as it is an educational ferment." It proposes instead an elaborate policy of regulation. We believe that such a policy would be little, if any, less difficult to make effective than an ideally more efficient plan of socialization. It would certainly make less appeal to the newly awakening social consciousness of the miners themselves. And we are fully persuaded that we cannot begin too soon the "educational ferment." The way to begin that process is by a frank acknowledgment of the necessity of a new system in the coal industry. It is an encouraging fact that even the courts can usually find a way (as in the decision on the rent laws) to sanction fairly radical legislation which is demanded by an aroused and informed public opinion.

Then They Voted 86,000 Men for the Navy

[Excerpts from the recent debates in the House of Representatives.]

For 67,000

REP. FRENCH, of Idaho: The most vigorous opponents of the proposed enlisted personnel offered by the committee of 67,000 are the officers of the Navy Department, on the one hand, and groups that represent navy yard and navy station activities upon the other. These latter groups are not limited to the Representatives upon this floor from the State where are located navy-yard and other activities, but the opposition is reflected through chambers of commerce, commercial clubs, newspapers, and groups of workmen from cities where navy activities are found. . . . Do you remember that it was Swift's formula in "Gulliver's Travels"—that twice around the thumb is once around the wrist; twice around the wrist is once around the neck; twice around the neck is once around the waist; and twice around the waist is the height of the individual? The same principle prevails in the Navy. Double your enlisted personnel and you double your junior officers; double your junior officers and you double your senior officers; and increase by 100 per cent your captains and you increase by 100 per cent your rear-admirals and admirals.

REP. MONDELL, of Wyoming: Gentlemen express a desire to follow the naval experts. How far do they expect to follow them? The officials of the Naval Establishment, civil and military, have never budged from their insistence upon a Navy of from 94,000 to 120,000 enlisted men, or qualified their demand for naval expenditures as great or greater than those of the days before the ratification of the treaty. Is this to be wondered at? Not at all. I challenge anyone to find in all the history of the world a time or place when a professional fighting establishment ever voluntarily or willingly reduced its costs or forces by a single man or a single dollar. . . . If it were true—which, in my opinion, it is not—that Great Britain was, with her wide-flung empire, maintaining under arms a few more men than we, must our sole effort and endeavor be to hunt out and count the last man she has in order that we may match him with another? If that is the theory on which we are to carry out the treaty, then it were just as well that the treaty had never been negotiated. Save for the fact that we have surrendered and propose to sink our finest fighting ships, we have come out of the Conference just where the nations went in—suspicious and determined to outrace and outclass each other. . . .

That is the bill as it is now before us. Add the 19,000 men proposed and the cost increases by from \$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000, or to at least \$400,000,000; or about the cost of the Navy this year. Add another \$10,000,000 or \$15,000,000, as your naval experts will all demand when this bill goes to the Senate, and your naval costs and your naval personnel will be greater after the treaty is ratified than it was before. . . . If we make the increases now asked we shall raise the cost of the Navy higher after ratification of the treaty than before it, and shall violate the spirit of the treaty we profess to desire to observe.

REP. MADDEN, of Illinois: Not long since, the Navy was before us for \$12,500,000 of a deficit for fuel. . . . They withdrew. They came again. We had further hearings. They reduced from \$12,500,000, as the hearings went on, to \$10,900,000, and, as the hearings proceeded, from \$10,900,000 to \$9,900,000. We gave them \$6,283,000 for the rest of the fiscal year. They said that the Navy would be tied to the docks. . . . It may be of interest to the House to know that only a few days ago I received a letter from the Secretary of the Navy saying that in the original instance they made a mistake; that they only should have asked for \$7,700,000 instead of \$12,500,000. There is your expert knowledge taken from the Navy books by the Secretary of the Navy.

For 86,000

REP. MONTROYA, of New Mexico: I am in favor of an efficient Navy. It happened that during the war I had three of my boys in the service. One of them was in the Navy. He was shifted from training in California to Hampton Roads. He wrote to me from there and said, "Father, I have been here two days and I have looked all around, and I see over in the bay 12 or 15 American warships and cruisers. I shall be on one of them in a few days, and I assure you that I know that we will lick the whole world." I want to keep faith with my boy and I want to keep faith with the American people. I shall vote for a bigger Navy.

REP. CRISP, of Georgia: Mr. Chairman, I have never been a militaristic man; I have always opposed a large Army but have favored a big Navy. Large armies sometimes Prussianize a country, but large navies never do this; therefore I have always believed that America should have the best Navy of any country in the world.

REP. PATTERSON, of New Jersey: The proposed reduction in the pending bill of 67,000 men has its economic side. Where are the 30,000 men to be thrown out of the Navy to secure work when there are already several million American workmen seeking jobs because we have failed to enact a permanent protective tariff based on American valuation? . . . Stoppage of the construction program under the terms of the bill under discussion is costing my district millions of dollars annually in wages.

REP. HOGAN, of New York, read into the *Record* the report of a shop-trade committee at the Navy Yard, quoting the remarks of Captain C. T. Vogelgesang, commander of the New York Navy Yard:

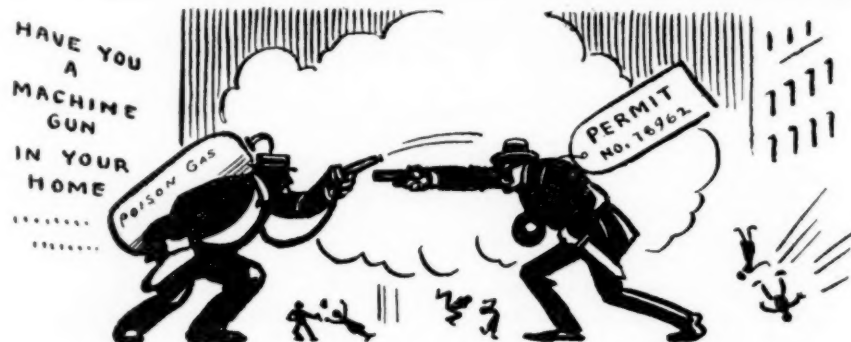
The commandant desires to reaffirm his interest and cooperation in the splendid work that is being done by the yard committees in the matter of arousing public interest not only in the amount of work to be assigned to this yard but also in the maintenance of an adequate and efficient Navy as a whole. To this end invitations have been extended and accepted by the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce to visit the yard in order to familiarize themselves with existing conditions; moving pictures are to be taken, and the general campaign and increased publicity are gaining headway each day.

An appropriation by Congress of \$250,000,000 for the Navy will not suffice; at least \$350,000,000 are required if the Navy is to be maintained in a high state of efficiency and readiness for service; the fight will be staged on the floor of Congress and the result thereof will determine in a positive manner whether the Navy as a whole is to be maintained. We must not rest content or cease our efforts on any less substantial assurance that the yard is to be kept open than that which will be embodied in an adequate appropriation for the entire Navy by Congress. . . .

Information at hand indicates that the city of Boston has staged a monster demonstration, parade, and mass meeting, to be held on the 8th instant, with a view to arousing public sentiment favorable to the local yard and the Navy. It is highly desirable that similar interest be created in this locality. . . . Once this interest is aroused and the voice of the people is heard in Washington, an adequate appropriation will be provided.

REP. DEAL, of Virginia: I believe that we should practice the utmost economy in all branches of our Government, but there is such a thing as false economy. Let our Navy deteriorate and Europe will become convinced of its failure far more quickly. Its attitude of friendship may be, and probably will be, reversed. The murder at Serajevo was the excuse for an explosion of the smoldering lust to take that which thy neighbor hath. Can anyone believe that this characteristic sin, inherent in man since the days of Cain, has changed? Can anyone be so guileless as to believe that the Washington Disarmament Conference has recast human nature? If so, reduce the Navy and watch the result.

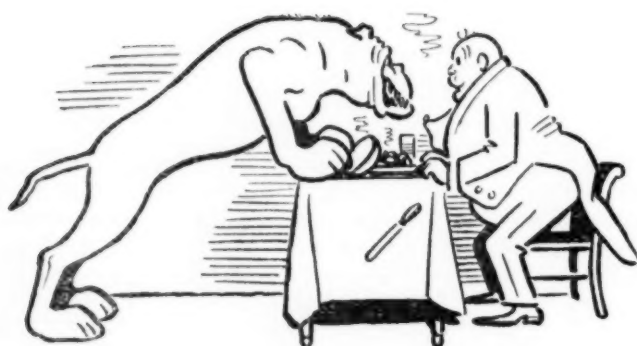
Looking On by ART YOUNG



To make New York safe 75,000 pistol permits have been granted.

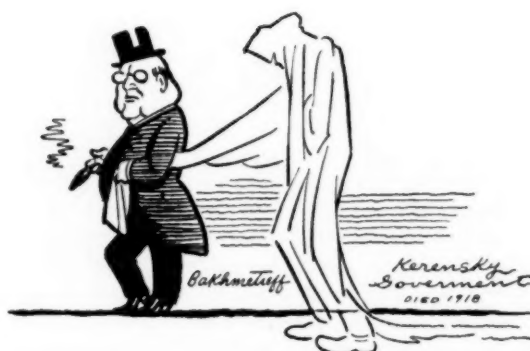


Mon Dieu! The cook's gone off with the butler.



The American Legion and his master.

When their pet was growling at liberals and radicals the Interests were proud of him. It was a shock when the same old Legion put his paws on the dinner table and demanded a bonus.



Mr. Bakhmetieff and ghost taking the air.

Mr. Hughes says Bakhmetieff is still Ambassador Extraordinary of Russia. Quite extraordinary, for his government has been dead four years.

These United States MARYLAND: Apex of Normalcy¹

By H. L. MENCKEN

The following article is the second of a series on the commonwealths that compose this republic, These United States. The first was on the State of Kansas, by William Allen White. The articles will probably appear in every other issue of The Nation. No attempt has been made to secure uniformity of treatment, but rather as widely varying points of view as possible. Some of the articles will be largely political, some economic, some purely descriptive of the people and some of the physical characteristics of given States; some may be deliberately fragmentary, others may attempt a complete survey; some will be censorious, others more favorable in their analysis. But it is hoped that the series will furnish an enlightening perspective of the America of today in the somewhat arbitrary terms of politico-geographic boundaries, and that it will be a valuable contribution to the new literature of national self-analysis. The writers who have already submitted articles differ considerably in political or economic attitude, in profession and mode of life. These articles reveal in consequence a gratifying divergence. Other "States" are in preparation. A still larger number is as yet unassigned.

IN all tables of statistics Maryland seems to gravitate toward a safe middle place, neither alarming nor depressing. The colony was settled after Massachusetts and Virginia, but before Pennsylvania and the Carolinas; the State lies today about half-way down the list of American commonwealths, in population, in the value of its manufactures, and in its production of natural wealth. I thumb all sorts of strange volumes of figures and find this median quality holding out. The percentage of native-born whites of native parentage in the country as a whole is somewhere between 55 and 60; in Maryland it is also between 55 and 60; below lie the very low percentages of such States as New York, and above lie the very high percentages of such States as Arkansas. In the whole United States the percentage of illiteracy is 7.7; in Maryland it is 7.2. In the whole country the blind number 62.3 in every 100,000 of population; in Maryland they number 61.9. Ranging the States in the order of the average salary paid to a high-school principal, Maryland is twenty-third among the 48; ranging them in the order of automobile licenses issued it is twenty-ninth; ranging them in the order of the ratio of Roman Catholics to all Christian communicants it is twenty-second. The chief city of Maryland, Baltimore, lies half-way down the list of great American cities; the State's average temperature, winter and summer, is half-way between the American maximum and minimum. It is in the middle of the road in its annual average of murders, suicides, and divorces, in the average date of its first killing frost, in the number of its moving-picture parlors per 100,000 of population, in the circulation of its newspapers, in the ratio between its street railway mileage and its population, in the number of its people converted annually at religious revivals, and in the percentage of its lawyers sent to prison yearly for felony.

Popular opinion holds the Mason and Dixon line to be the division between the North and the South; this is untrue geographically, culturally, and historically. The real frontier leaps out of the West Virginia wilderness somewhere near Harper's Ferry, runs down the Potomac to Washington, and then proceeds irregularly eastward, cutting off three counties of the Maryland Western Shore and four of the Eastern Shore. Washington is as much a Northern town as Buffalo, despite the summer temperature and the swarms of Negroes; Alexandria, Va., across the river, is as thoroughly Southern as Macon, Ga. In Maryland the division is just as noticeable. The vegetation changes, the mode of life changes, the very people change. A Marylander from St. Mary's County or from the lower reaches of the Eastern Shore is as much a stranger to a Marylander from along the Pennsylvania boundary, or even from Baltimore, as he would be to a man from Maine or Wisconsin. He thinks differently; he has different prejudices, superstitions, and enthusiasms; he actually looks different. During the Civil War the State was even more sharply divided than Kentucky or Missouri, and that division still persists. It results in constant compromises—an almost Swiss need to reconcile divergent traditions and instincts. Virginia to the southward is always Democratic and Pennsylvania to the northward is always Republican, but Maryland is sometimes one and sometimes the other, and when Baltimore is one the counties are commonly the other. The influence of this single big city, housing nearly half the population of the State, is thrown toward maintaining the balance. It has *nearly* half the population, but not *quite* half; thus the rural Marylanders must always pay heed to it, but need never submit to it slavishly. The result is a curious moderation in politics. Maryland is liberal and swiftly punishes political corruption, but it is suspicious of all the new sure-cures that come out of the South and Middle West—the recall of judges, the city manager system, prohibition, the initiative, government ownership, and so on. That moderation extends to all the social and economic relationships. Though there are large minorities of Negroes in every political division, there is seldom any trouble between the races, and even in the darkest counties every well-behaved Negro is now allowed to vote. Though Baltimore, in some parts, is alive with foreigners, they are not harassed and persecuted by the usual 100 per cent poltroons, and even during the war and at the height of the ensuing alarm about radicals they were reasonably protected in their rights. And though the typical Marylander, once a farmer, is now a hand in a factory, industrial disputes of any seriousness are relatively rare, and even the Maryland miner, though his brothers to both sides, in Pennsylvania and West Virginia, are constantly in difficulties, is but seldom butchered by the State militia.

In brief, Maryland bulges with normalcy. Freed, by the providence of God, from the droughts and dervishes, the cyclones and circular insanities of the Middle West, and from the moldering doctrinairism and appalling bugaboos of the South, and from the biological decay of New Eng-

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land, and from the incurable corruption and menacing unrest of the other industrial States, it represents, in a sense, the ideal toward which the rest of the Republic is striving. It is safe, fat, and unconcerned. It can feed itself, and have plenty to spare. It drives a good trade, foreign and domestic; makes a good profit; banks a fair share of it. It seldom freezes in winter, and it stops short of actual roasting in summer. It is bathed in a singular and various beauty, from the stately estuaries of the Chesapeake to the peaks of the Blue Ridge. It is unthreatened by floods, Tulsa riots, Nonpartisan Leagues, Bolshevism, or Ku Klux Klans. It is bare of Len Smalls, Mayor Thompsons, Lusks, Hylans, A. Mitchell Palmers, Bryans, Vardamans, Volsteads, Upton Sinclairs, Parkhursts, Margaret Sangers, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catts, Monk Eastmans, Debses, Hearsts, Mrs. Kate O'Hares, Prof. Scott Nearings, John D. Rockefellers, Stillmans, Harry Thaws, Jack Johnsons, La Follettes, Affinity Earles, Judge Cohalans, W. E. Burghardt Du Boises, Percy Stickney Grants, Dreisers, Cabells, Amy Lowells, Mrs. Eddys, Ornsteins, General Woods, William Z. Fosters, Theodore Roosevelt, Jrs., Cal Coolidges. Its Federal judge believes in and upholds the Constitution. Its Governor is the handsomest man in public life west of Cherbourg. The Mayor of its chief city is a former Grand Supreme Dictator of the Loyal Order of Moose. It has its own national hymn, and a flag older than the Stars and Stripes. It is the home of the oyster, of the deviled crab, of hog and hominy, of fried chicken *à la* Maryland. It has never gone dry.

I depict, you may say, Utopia, Elysium, the New Jerusalem. My own words, in fact, make me reel with State pride; another *Lis'l* of that capital moonshine *Löwenbräu*, and I'll mount the keg and begin bawling Maryland, My Maryland. Here, it appears, is the dream paradise of every true Americano, the heaven imagined by the Rotary Club, the Knights of Pythias, and the American Legion. Here is the goal whither all the rest of the Republic is striving and pining to drift. Here, as I have said, is normalcy made real and visible. Well, what is life like in arcadian Maryland? How does it feel to live amid scenes so idyllic, among a people so virtuous and so happy, on the hooks of statistics so magnificently meridional? I answer frankly and firstly: it is dull. I answer secondly: it is depressing. I answer thirdly: it steadily grows worse. Everywhere in the United States, indeed, there is that encroaching shadow of gloom. Regimentation in morals, in political theory, in every department of thought has brought with it a stiffening, almost a deadening in manners, so that the old goatishness of the free democrat—how all the English authors of American travel-books denounced it two or three generations ago!—has got itself exchanged for a timorous reserve, a curious psychical flabbiness, an almost complete incapacity for innocent joy. To be happy takes on the character of the illicit: it is jazz, spooning on the back seat, the Follies, dancing without corsets, wood alcohol. It tends to be an adventure reserved for special castes of antinomians, or, at all events, for special occasions. On all ordinary days, for all ordinary Americans, the standard carnality has come to be going into a silent and stuffy hall, and there, in the dark, gaping stupidly at idiotic pictures in monochrome. No light, no color, no sound!

So everywhere in the Republic, from Oregon's icy mountains to Florida's coral strand. But in Maryland there is a special darkening, due to an historical contrast. Save only Louisiana, and, for very brief spaces, Kentucky and

California, Maryland is the only American State that ever had a name for gaiety. Even in the earliest days it knew nothing of the religious bigotry that racked New England, nor of the Indian wars that ravaged Georgia and New York, nor of the class conflicts that menaced Virginia. Established on the shores of its incomparably rich waters, its early planters led a life of peace, tolerance, and ease, and out of their happy estate there grew a civilization that, in its best days, must have been even more charming than that of Virginia. That civilization was aristocratic in character, and under it the bonds of all classes were loose. Even the slaves had easy work, and plenty of time for jamborees when work was done, and perhaps a good deal more to eat than was good for them. The upper classes founded their life upon that of the English country gentry, but they had more money, and, I incline to think, showed a better average of intelligence. They developed their lands to a superb productiveness, they opened mines and built wharves, they lined the Chesapeake with stately mansions—and in the hours of their leisure they chased the fox, fished the rivers, visited their neighbors, danced, flirted, ate, and drank. It was then that the foundation of Maryland's fame as a gastronomic paradise was laid; it was those ancients who penetrated to the last secrets of the oyster, the crab, and the barnyard fowl. Nor were they mere guzzlers and tipplers. Annapolis, down to Washington's presidency, was perhaps the most civilized town in America. It had the best theater, it had the best inns, and it also had the best society. To this day a faint trace of its old charm survives; it is sleepy, but it is lovely.

What overturned the squirearchy, of course, and with it Maryland civilization, was the rise of the industrial system. It shifted the center of gravity from the great estates to the rushing, pushing, dirty, and, after awhile, turbulent and hoggish town of Baltimore, and so, bit by bit, the old social organization fell to pieces, and the very landscape itself began to lose its old beauty. Wherever there was a manor house along the Bay in the eighteenth century there is now a squalid town, and wherever there is a town there is a stinking cannery, or an even more odoriferous factory for making fish guano. For years there was a more or less fair and equal struggle between town and country. Baltimore grew and grew, but the old landed gentry hung on to their immemorial leadership, in politics if not in trade. Even so recently as a generation ago, half of the counties were still dominated by their old land-owning families; out of them came the supply of judges, State senators, governors, congressmen. Even into our own day they retain tenaciously a disproportionate share of seats in the State Assembly. But it was a losing fight, and as year followed year the advantages of the new industrial magnates grew more visible. As in so many other States, it was a railroad—the Baltimore & Ohio—that gave mere money the final victory over race. The Baltimore & Ohio, for more than fifty years, steadily debauched the State. Then it was overthrown, and the political system that it had created went with it, but by that time it was too late to revive the aristocratic system of a more spacious day. Today the State is run by the men who pay the wages of its people. They do it, it must be said for them, with reasonable decency, but they do it absolutely without imagination, and all links with the past are broken forever. Maryland was once a state of mind; now it is a machine.

The tightening of the screws goes on unbrokenly; the

end, I suppose, as everywhere else in These States, will be a complete obliteration of distinction, a wiping out of all the old traditions, a massive triumph of regimentation. It is curious to note some of the current symptoms of the process. There is, for example, the Fordization of the Johns Hopkins University. The Johns Hopkins was founded upon a plan that was quite novel in the United States: it was to be, not a mere college for the propagation of the humanities among the upper classes, but a genuine university in the Continental sense, devoted almost wholly to research. To that end it set up shop in a few plain buildings in a back street—and within twenty years its fame was world-wide, and its influence upon all other American universities of the first rank was marked. It had no campus, no dormitories, no clubs of college snobs, no college yells, but if you go through the roster of its students during its first two or three decades you will go through a roster of the principal American scholars and men of science of today. The death of Daniel Coit Gilman was a calamity to the university, and following it came demoralization. Today the Johns Hopkins is reorganized, but upon a new plan. It has a large and beautiful campus; its buildings begin to rise in huge groups; it challenges Harvard and Princeton. Interiorly it turns to the new efficiency, the multitudinous manufacture of sharp, competent, \$10,000 a year men. There is a summer-school for country school-marms eager for six weeks of applied psychology, official history, and folk-singing. There is instruction for young men eager to be managers of street railways, automobile engineers, and city editors of newspapers. There is patriotic drilling on the campus. There is a growing college spirit. Gifts and endowments increase. Everything is booming. But the old Johns Hopkins is dead.

Turn now to Baltimore society. In the old days it was extraordinarily exclusive—not in the sense of stupid snob-bishness, but in the sense of prudent reserve. The aristocracy of the State was a sound one, for it was firmly rooted in the land, and it looked with proper misgivings upon all newcomers who lacked that foundation. It had friendly relations with the aristocracy of Virginia, but with the industrial magnates of the North and their wives and daughters it was inclined to be a bit stand-offish. When it gave a party in Baltimore or in one of the county towns, the display of clothes was perhaps not startling, but there was at least a show of very pretty girls, and their pa's and ma's were indubitably gentlemen and ladies. I am still almost too young, as the saying is, to know my own mind, but I well remember the scandal that arose when the first millionaire bounders tried to horn in by *force majeure*. Even the proletariat was against them, as it would have been against a corporation lawyer who presumed to climb upon the bench with the judge. But today—God save the mark! The old landed aristocracy, put beside the new magnates and their women, seems shabby and unimportant; it has lost its old social leadership, and it has even begun to lose its land, its traditions, and its *amour propre*. The munitions millionaires of the war years entered to the tune of loud wind music; a fashionable ball today is an amazing collection of gilded nobodies; all eyes are turned, not toward the South, but toward New York. There are leaders of fashion in Baltimore today whose mothers were far from unfamiliar with the washtub; there are others whose grand-mothers could not speak English. The whole show descends to a fatuous and tedious burlesque. It has the brilliance

of a circus parade, and the cultural significance of an annual convention of the Elks.

The decay of the Johns Hopkins is accompanied by a general eclipse of intellectualism. Music becomes a mere fashionable diversion; it is good medicine for pushers to go to opera and symphony concert and suffer there for an hour or two. As for intellectual society, it simply doesn't exist. If some archaic bluestocking were to set up a *salon*, it would be mistaken for a saloon, and raided by some snouting cleric. In Baltimore lives Lizette Woodworth Reese, perhaps the finest poet of her generation yet alive in America. Some time ago a waggish newspaper man there had the thought to find out how Baltimore itself regarded her. Accordingly, he called up all of the town magnificoes, from the president of the Johns Hopkins down to the presidents of the principal women's clubs. He found that more than half of the persons he thus disturbed had never so much as heard of Miss Reese, and that all save two or three of the remainder had never read a line of her poetry! Edgar Allan Poe is buried in the town, in the yard of a decrepit Presbyterian church, on the edge of the old red-light district. It took sixteen years to raise enough money to pay for a modest tombstone to his memory; it took seventy-two years to provide even an inadequate monument. During that time Baltimore has erected elaborate memorials to two founders of tin-pot fraternal orders, to a former Mayor whose long service left the city in the physical state of a hog-pen, and to the president of an obscure and bankrupt railroad. These memorials are on main streets. That to Poe is hidden in a park that half the people of Baltimore have never so much as visited. And on the pedestal there is a thumping misquotation from his poetry!

Such is Maryland in this hundred-and-forty-sixth year of the Republic—a great, a rich, and a puissant State, but somehow flabby underneath, somehow dead-looking in the eyes. It has all the great boons and usufructs of current American civilization: steel-works along the bay, movies in every town, schools to teach the young how to read and write, high-schools to ground them in a safe and sane Americanism, colleges for their final training, jails to keep them in order, a State police, a judiciary not wholly imbecile, great newspapers, good roads. It has vice crusaders, charity operators, drive managers, chambers of commerce, policewomen, Y. M. C. A.'s, women's clubs, Chautauquas, Carnegie libraries, laws against barking dogs, the budget system, an active clergy, uplifters of all models and gauges. It is orderly, industrious, virtuous, normal, free from Bolshevism and atheism. . . . Still, there is something wrong. At the moment, thousands seem to be out of work. Wages fall. Men are ironed out. Ideas are suspect. No one appears to be happy. Life is dull.

The next article in this series will be Mississippi, by Beulah Amidon Ratliff.

The Price of Recognition

The Intrigues Behind the Non-Recognition of Obregon, being the first article of a series by Henry G. Alsberg, who has just returned after eight weeks in

MEXICO

In next week's issue of The Nation.

The Opinions of Anatole France¹

Recorded by PAUL GSELL

Esperanto

JUST then Captain X. entered.

He is a Jew, with a hatchet face, a curved nose, hollow, feverish eyes, and a weather-beaten skin, which looked as if it had been smoked: the physique of one who lives on locusts and wild honey. A proselyte to humanitarianism, he is the modern depositary of that flame which so nobly aroused the old crusaders against existing institutions. . . .

After shaking hands with Anatole France, he said:

"You know several of my hobby-horses: among others pacifism and Negrophilism. I have a new one: Esperanto.

"Yes, I am one of those who are working to establish a common language among all men, and to reconcile the workers of the Tower of Babel."

The captain launched into a little propaganda speech:

"Esperanto is the best means of communication for business men. After eight days' practice Esperantists are able to correspond."

"Gentlemen in commercial life would do well, then, to learn this language."

"But it has loftier ambitions. We have translated a selection of masterpieces from every country. Your 'Crainquebille' is one of them, and I have come to ask you to authorize the publication in Esperanto of another of your works."

"I should not like to rebuff a friend, but I would prefer him not to make such a request of me."

"What is your objection to Esperanto, my dear Master?"

"Why, nothing. On the contrary, I greatly approve of your zeal in wishing to facilitate commercial relations. I should be delighted if it were possible for all men to understand one another without the trouble of prolonged studies. I am sure a universal language would dissipate cruel misunderstandings between them. But then, is your Esperanto, which would doubtless render great practical services, capable of interpreting even the most fugitive appearance of ideas?"

"I assure you that . . ."

"Ah, no! For it is not born of suffering and joy. It has not borne the lamentations and hymns of the human soul. It is a mechanical thing, constructed by a scholar. It is not life.

"Come, my dear Captain. Let us suppose that you have been made a present of a wonderful doll. Its big soft eyes are shaded with long eyelashes divinely curved. Its mouth is deliciously red, and is like the pulp of a cherry. Its hair is like spun sunlight. It smiles at you. It talks to you. It calls you 'my darling.'

"Would you love it?"

"Suppose that you found yourself for a long time alone with it on a desert island, and that suddenly a real woman appeared, even rather ugly, but, after all, a live woman. Is it to the doll you would address your madrigals?"

"Your Esperanto is the doll. The French language is a live woman. And this woman is so beautiful, so proud, so

modest, so daring, so touching, so voluptuous, so chaste, so noble, so familiar, so foolish, so wise that one loves her with all one's soul and is never tempted to be unfaithful to her."

We all burst into laughter, and the captain seemed a little peeved. Brousson said to him maliciously:

"Pygmalion breathed life into his statue. Perhaps your passion will effect the same miracle in favor of your doll."

"Young man," said the captain with some heat, "you are sparkling, no doubt, but could you not put a little water in your champagne?"

"And you, Captain," said Brousson, "a little champagne in your water?"

Anatole France interrupted the dispute:

"My dear Captain, I will propose a test for you."

"As many as you like!"

"Here are two lines of Racine. I am choosing the most musical, I warn you. They are heavenly music.

Ariane, ma sœur, de quelle amour blessée,
Vous mourûtes aux bords où vous fûtes laissée!

Come now! Translate that into Esperanto!"

Boldly, as if he had drawn his sword to charge at the head of his company, the captain pronounced in a loud voice some words of the idiom which he so ardently extolled.

"Come! Come!" said France to him very gently, touching his arm. "The verdict is obvious, my dear friend."

"Once again, how could the work of a grammarian, however learned, compete with a living language, in which millions of men have expressed their grief and their joy, in which the great noise of the common people and the twittering of pretty linnets chirping in the drawing-rooms are both perceptible; in which are heard the roar of all the handicrafts, the rumble of all revolutions, the death-rattle of despair, and the murmur of dreams. How beautiful words are, haloed with the memory of long usage!

"This word has rung clear as a bell in a line of Corneille. That one has languished in a hemistich of Racine. Another has gathered the perfume of thyme and wild flowers in a fable of La Fontaine. They all glitter with infinite shades which they have acquired in the course of centuries.

"Just think, my dear friend, the words for 'laugh' and 'cry' have not the same meaning in French as in other languages, because no other man has laughed like Molière, like Regnard, or like Beaumarchais. No woman has wept like certain great Frenchwomen who have loved, Mlle. de Lespinasse, for example. Well, I want my ideas to rest upon words in which the sentiments of all our dead still live."

"But, then you condemn all translations."

"Not at all. Have you forgotten the apologue of the doll? The other living languages are real women. And I do not feel any great repugnance to intrust my thoughts to them.

"However, I love my darling, I do! I love my darling more. I prefer my own beloved tongue. I shall be happy, only too happy, if I have been able to add a new beauty to that which I have received so limpid, so luminous, so beneficent, and so human."

¹ The series of articles appearing under this title is translated by Ernest Boyd and will shortly be published in book form by Alfred A. Knopf.

² M. Anatole France, however, has modified his attitude. Philosophically, he ended by allowing, in addition to "Crainquebille," several of his admirable short stories to be translated into Esperanto.

What Farmer Cooperation Promises the Consumer

By E. E. MILLER

THE growth of farmers' cooperative marketing associations is one of the outstanding economic developments of our time. Few people realize how numerous these organizations have become, or how strong some of them are. Of the California citrus fruit, nut and raisin growers' associations everyone has heard. The stories of their successes are the classics of cooperation. Within the last year, however, cooperative associations have been formed which make the California associations, with their control of a few minor products, look small indeed. The Burley Tobacco Growers' Association, for example, now has 57,000 members and controls 90 per cent of the Burley crop. It is organized on the basis of a binding five-year contract with each of its members. So are the various State cotton growers' associations, which will this year sell 3,000,000 bales or more—between a fifth and a fourth of the country's total production. The cotton growers expect within the next year or two to organize every cotton-growing State and then to federate all these State associations. The United States Grain Growers, Inc., has had a less spectacular growth, but is going steadily ahead, with a program of nothing less than the control of half or more of the country's marketable grain. Producers of other commodities are organizing on a scale coextensive with the area of production—sweet-potato growers, dark tobacco growers, peanut growers. Northwestern potato growers are planning a great sectional marketing association. Wisconsin's cooperative cheese factories are trying to get together for the marketing of their output through one central association. And so on, and on.

The progress of cooperative marketing in the last two years has been greater than the progress made in any ten years preceding. More important still, the men who are cooperating regard the progress thus far as a mere beginning. They have the vision of an agriculture so thoroughly organized on a commodity basis that the bulk of every important farm product will be disposed of through the marketing machinery set up by the farmers themselves.

The growing number, size, and strength of these organizations make them a matter of no small concern to the consumer of farm products. Recent legislation has freed these cooperatives from any restriction anti-trust laws might have imposed. When the bill providing for this immunity was before Congress grave Senators solemnly declared that the power thus placed in the hands of the organized farmers was too great for any group of men to be trusted with—and tempted by. They pointed out that this legislation would leave producers free to fix unreasonable prices for their products and to disregard utterly the welfare of the consumers. "Could not the milk producers about a city," they asked in effect, "combine and force the people of that city to pay unreasonable prices for milk? Could not the wheat growers, with a nation-wide organization, do the same thing with all the people? Could not the potato growers, or the peach growers?" Many consumers, no doubt, have asked themselves the same thing.

Let us grant that the cooperative marketing association is not a philanthropic organization, that it exists to get more money for its members, that in most cases it hopes to do this by securing for them better prices for their products. The

cooperator admits this, but he does not admit that raising prices is the sole purpose of cooperation, or that any increase in the farmer's return for his labor of production must necessarily be taken out of the consumer's pocket. He asserts instead that the development of cooperative marketing is going to be of real benefit to the consumer as well as to the producer. Here are some of the reasons he advances for this claim.

Of the average dollar which the American consumer pays for the products of the American farm the farmer gets, according to the latest figures, something less than 40 cents. Before the war it was estimated that he got about 45 cents. At the same time the Danish farmer was shipping his surplus mainly to England and getting about 65 cents out of the British consumer's dollar. Not only is the "spread" between the producer's pay and the consumer's outlay excessively wide in this country, but it is steadily increasing. Marketing expenses and marketing margins are going up, so reducing the farmer's returns at one end and demanding more of the consumer at the other end of the line. Farmers feel that it is possible to reduce this spread, to simplify marketing processes, to lower marketing costs. If the first one or two of the three to five "middlemen" who handle most farm products can be made agents of the producers, interested in moving on the goods at the lowest expense and with the fewest added charges, instead of being, as now, dealers interested in getting just as much as possible out of their handling of the goods, there certainly seems to be some possibility of reducing the marketing spread.

Prices of farm products, too, are very variable and uncertain. They are affected by everything from the weather to the health of European statesmen. An active class of speculators is interested in having prices as variable as possible. The producer's interest as well as the consumer's is to have them as steady as may be. Variations there always will be, no doubt, but great associations of producers, with accurate information as to the available supply of any commodity, and with control of a sufficient proportion of it to market it in an orderly accord with the market's demands, should be able to exert a powerful influence toward stabilizing prices. Price increases are always passed on to the consumer much more promptly than are corresponding decreases.

Most farm products are practically out of the farmer's hands a short time after they become marketable. In the four months of July to October, inclusive, 72 per cent of the market wheat leaves the farms. Practically all of the cotton crop is sold in six months, 80 per cent of it in September, October, and November. Such overcrowding of the market inevitably results in depressing prices at the marketing season. It also makes easier artificial inflation of prices after this period. Wheat has gone up some 15 or 20 cents a bushel in the last two months. Every purchaser of flour has paid tribute to this increase, but very few farmers have profited by it. Farmers reason that to supply the market the year round according to its demand will be to increase their total returns without adding at all to the consumer's expenditures.

Many crops are now put on the market in such poor con-

dition, are so improperly distributed to the different markets, or are otherwise so mishandled that a large portion of them is wasted. The resulting loss either lessens the grower's profits or adds to the price the consumer must pay. Usually it does both. Each year from one-fourth to one-third of the sweet-potato crop goes to waste. The marketing of sweet potatoes is still chaotic. Tens of thousands of growers get less than a fair return from their crops, while millions of Americans really do not know how a good sweet potato tastes. Cooperative marketing of sweet potatoes has already concerned itself with both the sending to market of a better-graded product and the proper introduction of that product to possible consumers. Organization that will give to one section of the country a new source of income and to another section a new food of value seems to the farmer a type of organization that should be encouraged. In this connection the farmer calls attention to the work of the California citrus and raisin associations which, by systematizing methods and reducing expenses of distribution, have succeeded in giving the growers a market for their entire crop while actually giving the consumers a better product at lower cost.

The cooperating producer feels that he should have an equal voice with the great industries or interests which buy his crops in determining their price. He realizes that supply and demand will continue to control as heretofore, and knows that he cannot therefore fix arbitrary and unjustified prices on any commodity and force consumers to pay. He cannot, because all farm products fall into one of two classes. The essentials—wheat, corn, bacon, cotton, etc.—are fixed as to price by world supply and demand. It is manifestly impossible for any American organization, even though it were all-embracing, to determine prices for them. For the non-essential commodities, for which substitutes may be found with comparatively little trouble, excessive prices mean a speedily decreased consumption. In both instances the consumer demand is the final arbiter of prices. So far from contemplating the fixing of unreasonable prices on these products, it is the program of the cooperative associations, by standardization, by advertising, by better marketing methods, to stimulate demand for them, and so to make sure of a market for the total production. This program of pleasing the consumer has been adopted for the simple reason that it is the only program that will give results.

The consumer has no reason to fear the farmer's cooperative marketing association. He has more reason to look forward to it as the one reasonable hope of a less expensive and less self-centered marketing system. He will probably find it to his interest, before many years, to meet it half way with his own cooperative purchasing association.

Gerald L. Wendt

Associate Professor of Chemistry in the University of Chicago, discoverer of the ozone form of hydrogen, has succeeded in splitting atoms of tungsten, which was considered theoretically an impossibility. He tells how he did it and predicts the far-reaching effects of the discovery on the future of mankind.

Decomposing the Atom

in next week's issue of The Nation.

Hard Traveling in Shu¹

By LI PO

Written for Music

Translated by Witter Bynner and Kiang Kang-hu

O but it is high and very dangerous!
 Shu journeying is harder than scaling the blue sky.
 Ts'an-ts'ung and Yü-fu²
 Were explored in the misty ages,
 And forty-eight thousand years had gone by
 Before communication across the Ch'in border.
 But the Great White Mountain, westward, has only a bird's
 path
 Up to the summit of Eyebrow, whose peak
 Broke in an earthquake when brave men were lost
 Just finishing the stone rungs of the Heavenly Ladder.
 High, as on a tall flag, six dragons drive the sun;
 Below, the River lashes against its twisted course.
 This would be hard going for even a yellow crane,
 So pity the poor monkeys who can only use their hands.
 The Mountain of Green Clay is formed in many circles—
 Each hundred steps, we have to turn nine turns among its
 mounds.
 Panting, we touch the star Shên and pass the star Chin,
 Then, pressing our hands upon our breasts, we sit down
 with a sigh . . .
 When shall we return from this journey in the west!
 The formidable path ahead grows darker, ever darker,
 With only the cries of prisoned birds among the ancient
 trees,
 Male birds smoothly wheeling, following the females;
 And there come to us the melancholy voices of the cuckoos
 There on the empty mountain, under the lonely moon . . .
 Shu journeying is harder than scaling the blue sky.
 Even to hear of it turns the cheek pale,
 With the highest crag barely a foot below heaven.
 Dry pines hang, head down, from the face of the cliffs,
 With a thousand plunging waterfalls outroaring one another
 And through ten thousand valleys a thunder of spinning
 stone,
 Adding to the risk . . .
 O why do people come here who live at a safe distance?
 Though Dagger-Tower Pass be firm and grim
 And while one man guards it
 Ten thousand cannot force it,
 What if he be not loyal
 But a wolf destroying others! . . .
 There are rabid tigers to fear in the day
 And venomous reptiles in the night,
 Cutting people down like hemp . . .
 Though the City of Silk³ be enjoyable, it is better to turn
 home quickly,
 For journeying here is harder than scaling the blue sky . . .
 But I still am facing westward with a long sad moan.

¹ Sze-chuan. ² Districts in Sze-chuan. ³ Cheng-tu.

Manchuria, Mongolia, and Siberia

By PAUL S. REINSCH

UNTIL recently the northwest of the continent of Asia was considered the backyard of civilization; it has now become plain that it will be one of the principal theaters of events in the future. The dependencies of Manchuria and Mongolia are as large in area as China of the eighteen provinces. The resources aside from the agricultural wealth, which lies plainly on the surface, have only been roughly surveyed; or not at all, for the most part. But the known iron ore reserves of the Province of Fengtien (South Manchuria) alone are more than half of the total reserves of the Chinese Republic.

In population these regions do not compare with China proper; they are therefore looked upon by the Chinese as a great reserve for future expansion and settlement. The population of Manchuria has indeed grown fast. At the time of the Chino-Japanese War it was estimated at 7,000,000. At present it is 15,000,000. There has been a steady stream of colonists from the south, particularly from Shantung and Chihli provinces. During the famine of 1921 at least 300,000 colonists came from the famine regions to Manchuria. There has also been some colonization in the border lands of Mongolia.

It is by reason of this development as well as because of the growing national sentiment among the Chinese that their attitude toward the great dependencies has changed. They are no longer dependencies but are looked upon as integral parts of the Chinese Republic represented in its central institutions. They differ, indeed, in characteristics of population and climate, but to the Chinese the whole Republic forms a unified domain, impressive in size and resources, but none too large for the future needs of this great population. The Chinese are no longer half indifferent to these outlying regions. The existence for some two decades of Russian and Japanese interests there has by no means accustomed the Chinese to look with equanimity upon such inroads. They have in fact become constantly more sensitive and more desirous of safeguarding the ultimate national control of these important regions. The intense feeling excited throughout China by the so-called Twenty-one Demands and the insistent popular clamor for their renunciation at the Washington Conference furnish abundant proof of the irritation in China on this point.

The Japanese have indeed achieved a very strong position in South Manchuria. Its strength is due entirely to the control of the South Manchurian Railway, which enables Japan largely to dominate the economic development of the province and its commerce, and which also holds the constant opportunity of bringing troops upon Chinese territory and thus giving support to political influence. The most important holdings of the Japanese in Manchuria are the coal and iron mines which came to them with the Manchurian Railway. The exploitation of these has been very profitable. From a financial point of view the railway has been less so. The concessions which have been obtained through political influence in recent years, relating to timber, colonization, etc., have thus far been not at all profitable. As experience elsewhere shows, such concessions obtained by political influence are often vitiated as economic ventures by the fact that governments have been induced

through desire for greater political influence to encourage their nationals to undertake enterprises without a careful consideration of economic soundness. The joint enterprises recently undertaken with Chinese who are generally considered the instruments of Japan have also been unprofitable. The original investment has been spent without much of permanent value to show. The Japanese are beginning to realize that the mixing of political and economic purposes has its disadvantages.

Merchants of other nationalities trying to do business in Manchuria have felt their dependence upon the means of communication controlled by the Japanese. The Japanese have practically acquired a monopoly of some lines of trade in which they have successfully shut out other foreign competition. This is done not by open discrimination but by a multitude of contrivances which may be used, with a constant ringing of changes, until competitors are discouraged. A characteristic example occurred a few years ago when a contract for some machinery was to be let at Kirin. The Japanese advised the Chinese that they would be foolish to order of Americans, who because of the great distance would be able to furnish the machinery only with considerable delay. The American merchants assured the Chinese that as the machinery was actually at Shanghai it could be shipped to Kirin quite as fast as from Japan. A large part of the order was given to Americans, but so many unavoidable mistakes and delays occurred on the Manchurian Railway that the prophecy of the Japanese was fully made good. It is experiences such as this, of daily occurrence, which have made foreign merchants in China develop a most vigorous prejudice against the ownership and control of railways in China by an outside government.

In certain ways the Russian and Japanese activities in Manchuria have in the past undoubtedly tended to the more rapid economic development of this region. The Chinese themselves had not been ready for large enterprises in outlying parts of their country. The money spent by the Russians and Japanese has anticipated by many years developments which otherwise would have come much later. The local population, on the business side of their nature, have therefore not been entirely dissatisfied with the presence of this foreign enterprise, although they object to its political implications.

The belief which is occasionally expressed that Manchuria ought to serve as a population outlet for an overcrowded Japan is not borne out by the facts. As agricultural colonists or as laborers the Japanese do not emigrate to the continent of Asia. After eighteen years there are at present only 60,000 Japanese in Manchuria. In so far as they are not employees of the railway or of Japanese mines, they are petty traders. As farmers or as general merchants they do not seem successfully to compete with the Chinese. Moreover, the climate seems to be unfavorable to them. Their constitutions do not bear up under the severity of the Manchurian winter cold.

It is quite remarkable that there should have been developed in this outlying region, and under the abnormal political conditions there obtaining, a great political influence embodied in the person of the military governor, General

Chang Tso-lin. About this unusual man no two observers would probably hold the same opinion. To some he is a mere unscrupulous adventurer bent on enriching himself, to others he is a tool of Japan, to others still an exceedingly clever manipulator of complicated relationships, and to a few a strong man who may yet put his strength at the service of China. He is generally spoken of as the Hungtutze (Red Top, Manchurian bandit) because in his youth he was carried off by brigands and brought up in their band. But while still a young man he graduated into military command and politics. In both he has been extremely successful, but he also has great financial ability, with the result that the entire banking system of Manchuria has been made to work in cooperation with his projects and policies. Certainly a more difficult position than he occupies could hardly be conceived. He is watched with a jealous eye by the Chinese, alert to discover any sign of disloyalty or subservience to foreign interests. On the other hand, the foreign interest in this case has so strongly fortified a local position that no man could maintain himself continuously as Chang Tso-lin has done without having, to a certain extent at least, the tolerance of Japan. He cannot cross the path of Japan too often; he must cooperate with the Japanese in certain matters; yet unless he can maintain his personal independence and retain a certain liberty of action, his position would soon become untenable.

Under these difficult circumstances General Chang Tso-lin has not only maintained himself but has gained sufficient influence, wealth, and military power to become one of the decisive factors in Chinese political affairs. For some time he has been suspected of desiring to make himself the supreme figure in China. Expert observers of Chinese affairs have hitherto always held that it would be impossible for him to use his military power in this direction; because, they said, as soon as he should move larger bodies of troops past Shanhaikwan into Chihli, the Chihli military party, backed by the viceroys of the Yangtze region, would offer united opposition and make any advance impossible.

But in a most unforeseen manner the situation has suddenly changed. The rivalry between the Mukden viceroy and the Chihli war lord, hitherto veiled under an outward show of cooperation, has suddenly become acute, after General Wu Pei-fu, wielding the military power of the Chihli faction, openly challenged General Chang Tso-lin, in January, by attacking the Cabinet to which the Mukden general was known to be favorable. General Wu Pei-fu at the same time had gained the hostility of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Opposition to the same man brought Chang Tso-lin and Sun Yat-sen together, and Chang Tso-lin can now send his troops southward without the danger of encountering united opposition. The platform on which Dr. Sun and General Chang stand together quite resembles that originally proposed by General Wu Pei-fu. They call for a national convention of civilian and military leaders, to complete the task now under way for ten years of making a definitive constitution for China and to provide for the election of a new national parliament. The latter is then to elect a successor to President Hsu, whose term is about to expire. General Chang invites General Wu Pei-fu to participate through representatives in this conference. This agreement on underlying principles, however, by no means furnishes assurance of future harmony and united action. The great question is, who will call and control the convention? Each party will suspect the other of desiring to manipulate this machinery.

In this manner the graduate of Manchurian political experience has now definitively entered the arena of national politics. People relate that with the exacting task of maintaining and developing his position, Chang Tso-lin has taken time to receive current instruction in those branches of knowledge which he could not cultivate during his earlier days. His career up to the present has impressed most observers as that of a very shrewd and clever man who seeks to improve and fortify his position step by step, never acting impulsively or at random, never relinquishing a hold before a firmer hold has been taken. Whether he has within him, and has developed through instruction, ideas of broader statesmanship and policy, the next two years will show.

When I met General Chang Tso-lin for the first time for a long conversation, returning a call he had made on me in Peking, I was greatly surprised at the simplicity and directness of his manner, combined with great smoothness and the absence of every characteristic that would be suggested by the idea of a bandit chief. He evidently did not care for the accessories of high position; he dismissed his attendants and alone engaged in an intimate conversation with me through my American interpreter. We spoke at this time chiefly about the industrial development of Manchuria; he evidently was a man who did his own planning, even down to detail.

In the northern part of Manchuria, where the Russian interests formerly predominated, a very complex situation has arisen. Here, as in South Manchuria, the railway is the crux of the matter. The China Eastern Railway franchise belongs jointly to Russia and China. The Russo-Asiatic Bank, under the old regime the agent of the Russian Government, still claims the right to act as the guardian of the Russian property; as the bank, however, is now controlled by French stockholders a peculiar twist has been given to the situation, and France enters as a party of special interest in North Manchuria. The bank has agreed to Chinese management of the railway. As the railway, however, is part of the Siberian system, the Interallied Commission, under Mr. John F. Stevens, has interested itself in it, with the backing of the United States and the more or less lukewarm support of the associated Powers. Meanwhile there has been a great deal of intrigue between certain Chinese elements and the Japanese with a view to placing a Japanese loan on the railway. Such a step would inevitably bring about Japanese control and an assimilation of the China-Eastern to the South Manchurian Railway.

The Government of the Far Eastern Republic, which next to China has the greatest interest in this railway, has thus far not been consulted by the foreign Powers, nor, of course, has the Soviet Government. But the latter, through its agent at Peking, Mr. Alexander K. Paykes, has recently assured the Chinese Government that the railway will be handed over to China without compensation, on condition that arrangements can be made guaranteeing that it will remain entirely in the hands of China and under her control. This assurance carries out previous promises made by the Moscow, as well as the Far Eastern, Government. The declaration of these Russian governments has created among the Chinese people a feeling of friendship for Russia under the new regime.

With respect to Mongolia, this feeling was somewhat overcast by the continued presence in Urga of a force of Soviet troops. When Baron Ungern made his attempt, with the assistance of the Japanese, to seize Urga and to use it

as a base of operations against Soviet Russia, troops were sent for his eviction by both the Moscow and the Chita governments. When his overthrow had been accomplished the Chita troops withdrew, but those of Moscow remained. The Moscow Government declared that they had no desire whatsoever to interfere in Mongolia, or with the relations between the Chinese Government and Mongolia, and that the troops would be withdrawn as soon as it had become clear that there was no danger of any further buccaneering expeditions.

A few years ago I had a long conversation with the then Russian minister in Peking concerning Russian policies in Mongolia. Three years before, in 1914, the Russians had prevailed upon China to recognize the "autonomy" of Outer Mongolia and they had themselves entered upon treaty relationships, foreshadowing a protectorate over that region. My conversation with the Russian minister dealt with a proposal that Americans should build a railway along the southern border of Mongolia to the Province of Kansu. This the Russians had objected to. In explaining their objection the Russian minister went into their Mongolian policy at length. He said that they desired to treat Mongolia as a protective zone and that they were therefore not favorable to any railway building or colonization which would bring the Chinese population en masse closer to the Russian territory in Central Siberia.

In the course of the war the Chinese, against the protest of the Russian minister, undertook to make arrangements with the Mongolians for the cancelation of "autonomy" and the complete reunification of the national territory. At this time there was a great interest manifested in Mongolia by Chinese public men. In 1919 General Hsu Shu-tcheng (known as "little Hsu" to distinguish him from the President) was appointed High Commissioner for Mongolia. His enemies said that it was done in order to keep him busy away from Peking. He developed an ambitious program of railway building and colonization; and, as the Chinese always do in such cases, he founded a bank, the Mongolian Development Bank. When I last saw him in Peking he was highly elated because he had just received a report that at the great races at Urga for the first time within the memory of man two thrones had been placed on the grandstand, one for the premier of the Living Buddha, the other for the representative of General Hsu.

While not much railway building could be accomplished, automobile routes were established for passenger service across the plains of Mongolia. These developments were, however, halted by the troubles brought on through the exploits of Baron Ungern; and it is only now that active thought of Mongolian developments is being resumed in China. If the new Russian Government adheres to its declarations, the Chinese will have an unobstructed opportunity for colonization and enterprise in this region. They will, of course, have to consider the rights and interests of the local population, and it is evident that there will be many problems wherever a settled population is to take the place of a nomadic one.

Enough has already been said to show the relationship between these outlying regions of China and the Siberian population with its new government. Between the two, like a wedge, the Japanese have inserted themselves. Should they continue to arouse the antagonism of both of the great populations of Northern Asia it would seem to be foolhardy to prophesy success for Japanese continental ventures.

Chinese Art

By T. Y. LEO

CHINESE art may be divided into two main branches: (a) That by which the Chinese attempted to express the beauty of nature and the spiritual meanings of things, i. e., calligraphy, drawing, and painting (the scholar's harp-playing should be ranked under this); and (b) that which was cultivated primarily to serve human use, i. e., architecture, ceramics, wood-carving, embroidery, bronzes, jades, sculpture, and many other minor subdivisions. By the Chinese standard the line of division between these two branches has been very sharp. While the workers in the first branch have invariably been known as artists, those of the second branch have never risen above the title of handicraftsmen, whose works an artist may admire, may love to possess, yet will never lower himself to do.

Chinese art has been inspired entirely by nature. Take, for instance, one of our arts that, you may suppose, has the least to do with nature: calligraphy. Chinese characters were modeled after the signs on the sky (sun, moon, stars, clouds, etc.) and things on the earth (for instance, trees, birds, animals, and the marks made by the hoofs and claws of birds and animals); and these characters later developed into styles known, respectively, as the "Insect," "Bird," and "Tadpole." From a T'ang list of Fifty-six Styles of Writing, we find such styles as "Dragon," "Eight Ears of Corn," "Cloud," "Peacock and Phoenix," "Tortoise," "Tiger," "Fish," "Unicorn," "Lotus-Bud," "Divine Fungus," "Crane's Head," "Waves," "Mosquito's Feet," "Dew-Drops," "Pin-Points," "Snake," "Flower," and the like. The Chinese love of nature is known the world over; but, I believe, it is our magnificent spontaneity that has given us the genius to humanize nature for the beautifying of human life.

Chinese art is the expression of China's national culture, growing out of her ideals and philosophies, through the continuous processes of melting and amalgamation during the forty or so centuries of China's existence.

Western critics are wont to overemphasize the symbolism in Chinese art. While it is undeniable that our art is pregnant with symbolism, symbolism has never been made the central principle of any work. It is absurd to think that Chinese artists or handicraftsmen always did their work with symbolism in view, and more so to believe that, before beginning their work, they prepared a symbolic plan or diagram. (See an amusingly elaborate interpretation of A Chinese Painting in the *International Studio*, July, 1917.) Chinese symbolism is nothing but sayings or tales, legendary, historical, or classical. It is not mysticism.

Western critics often sneer at the lack of perspective or chiaroscuro in Chinese art. They would be wholly right if they sneered at the Chinese artists' ignorance of these things as understood by Westerners. Chinese artists have their own standard or viewpoint which must prevail when we examine and criticize their works.

Probably Fenollosa first lamented that Chinese art became degenerate after the Sung and Yuan period. This has been echoed and reechoed by self-styled connoisseurs of Oriental art in the Orient. The truth is that from the end of the Yuan period to the present day we have a long line of artists who have produced works quite up to the high standard of the older periods.

Chinese Political Thought and the West

By CHANG HSIN-HAI

THERE is no question that the Western nations are passing through one of the most critical periods of their history. Everywhere in Europe, without distinction between victor and vanquished, there is turmoil, confusion, war, pestilence, starvation. We are not infrequently told that the rise and fall of civilizations follow definite fatal curves which are so providentially established that it does not lie within the power of human volition to alter or modify them. And so historians and philosophers often yield to the temptation of comparing the present Western world with the last days of the Roman Empire.

There is, however, no need of such universal pessimism. If it is true that Western civilization is going down the curve, may it not after all mean only the dissolution of the old order and the preparation for a new one? I believe so. The shifting of one order to another necessarily involves a period of chaos, of instability born of a condition where things are, for the moment, out of joint with one another. This is the situation which we in China are facing. And this is the situation which the West is also facing. The present chaos, both in China and in the Western nations, is in fact a sign of vigor; and it depends on what the fruits of this activity are going to be before we can be sure that the present disorder marks the end of civilization or the beginning of a new era of prosperity.

Now it cannot be denied that analogies can easily be drawn between the Roman world from the third to the fifth century and the modern Western world of the twentieth. One thing is especially striking, however. It is the dissolving of imperial and sovereign power, the gradual weakening of centralized authority. But while Roman imperial Power was undermined by the invasion of the barbarians, modern imperial Power is being gradually and surely undermined by its own evils and by the attainment of greater experience and enlightenment by mankind. It makes no difference how long democracy as a political institution has been in existence among the Western Powers. America is the first democratic nation, and yet people are agreed that it has the strongest centralized authority. But that idea of authority is today for the first time receiving a really sound and fundamental attack by political thinkers; and what they are trying to substitute—the idea of the pluralistic state—is unquestionably spreading with great rapidity, if all the experiments in the various forms of socialism can be taken as evidence.

But with all the antagonism against nationalism and the passion for socialism, the latest thinkers do not seem as yet to have got over the idea of the state or of the nation. Socialism may after all be the substitution of one form of authority for another; and so it has proved in Russia. People speak glibly of internationalism, but behind that idea there is still the conception of the nation as a self-sufficing entity. It is only when that idea has been abandoned that the evils and the disquietude of the old order will cease to afflict the new era which is being evolved. It is here that the Western peoples will find it profitable to examine the political philosophy which the Chinese have advocated and which forms the groundwork of their civilization.

Most people may think it extravagant to make such a statement. It seems incredible to them that a country which is struggling to adopt the very governmental machinery which they are trying to demolish, and which is desperately submerged in the vilest political corruption known anywhere in the world, can offer anything to relieve their suffering. But the present China is not the China we know in history. It is not to what we are now that we invite the attention of the West, but to our society as it existed under genuine Chinese ideas. Government exists, as Aristotle tells us, to promote a good life, to help society to attain perfection in all the spheres of its activity, whether they be moral, physical, intellectual, or religious. That is precisely what Chinese thinkers have conceived to be real government and what they have eminently succeeded in realizing for our society. The idea is to be found, no doubt, among other thinkers of the West than Aristotle. But has it been successfully embodied in the actual political facts? I doubt it. The one outstanding feature in Western politics, in spite of all professions, is force, power.

It is said that the idea of international morality has never been developed in the West. This does not mean, of course, that political morality must necessarily, on that account, be on a lower level than the morality which is recognized to control and regulate the relations between individuals. We may reasonably conceive that the conduct between nations follows so closely the principles of individual morality that there is no need to formulate another set of principles for the control of political action. But this is exactly what has not happened in the West. To begin with, the state, according to Western conceptions, is a thing apart. It is thought to have a personality of its own, quite different from that of the individual, and it is therefore not subject to any principles of action which are formulated for conduct between individuals. We are told, of course, that international law does this. But while international law has succeeded in solving many difficulties arising between states, how far can we say it has been really effective? Look at the recent war; he has a perverted sense of reality indeed who does not admit that international law is at best an ineffectual and feeble bond between nations.

The peculiar merit of Chinese political thought is that *it does not recognize the existence of the state as a self-sufficing entity at all*. We commonly hear the criticism that the Chinese people are beyond salvation because they have not evolved the idea of the state, of the nation. This is true if we take the Western ideal as the standard of judgment. When everything in political action is put on the basis of conquest, of sheer physical power, then it is necessary in order to survive that the people who are the object of attack rally their forces together, forming a nation and trying to defeat the invading Power on its own ground. This is, in fact, what we in China are doing, and Heaven forbid that we be considered militaristic, or cruel, or barbarous, or what not when we have conquered the West. It will be the West conquering itself if that day should ever come.

But it seems that I am waxing chauvinistic. There is, however, no reason to be so, if the Western nations acquire

more wisdom and not only give credit to the profound political philosophy which we have evolved but also go far enough to imbibe its spirit.

Now, as I said, Chinese political philosophy gives no distinction between the state and the individual; the state, as the West conceives it, is in fact non-existent. And that, instead of being our weakness as it is generally supposed, is really our strength. One of the most characteristic ideas which lies at the very foundation of the Chinese political system is expressed by Confucius in his "Higher Learning," and it is an idea which occurs again and again among later thinkers. It is this:

The illustrious ancients, when they wished to make clear and propagate the highest virtues to the world, first put their states in proper order. Before putting their states in proper order, they regulated their families. Before regulating their families, they cultivated their own selves. Before cultivating their own selves, they perfected their souls. Before perfecting their souls, they tried to be sincere in their thoughts. Before trying to be sincere in their thoughts, they extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things and in seeing them as they really were. When things were thus investigated, knowledge became complete. When knowledge was complete, their thoughts became sincere. When thoughts were sincere, their souls became perfect. When their souls were perfect, their own selves became cultivated. When their selves were cultivated, their families became regulated. When their families were regulated, their states came to be put into proper order. When their states were in proper order, then the whole world became peaceful and happy.

This is a challenge to Mr. Lloyd George, or, if we choose, to the entire Western world. The individual is the ultimate source of appeal. If he is properly cultivated, if he is able to realize in himself the higher ideals of life toward which, by universal assent, all mankind aspires, then we have reached the ultimate reality and there is no need for any sophistication about the state. The state is after all what the individuals make it to be, and therefore it is pure myth to think that it has a separate existence by itself.

The recognition of the validity of this idea has had a most far-reaching effect on the development of the Chinese people. For they have come to realize that nothing can be more important than the eternal truths of the moral law, and nothing more profitable than to appeal to *them* as the court of judgment for all human relations, whether between individuals or between groups of individuals. Government, therefore, has been an extremely simple affair. If it has had any use at all, it has been because as a means it could sometimes help toward the fulfilment of the moral ideas; but because it has been only a means it would have been fatal to give it undue importance. And so nothing has been more odious to the Chinese people than to rule them with an elaborate governmental machinery.

The art of government is what the West especially prides itself on, but I hope it will not be long before it feels poignantly that laws, laws, and more laws choke and suffocate us more than they give us life and freedom. The state in China has been, on the contrary, anarchy *par excellence*. This is likely to shock the Occidental. And no wonder, because he is so accustomed to governmental machinery and so attached to and dependent upon it that, once it is taken away from him, he is hopeless and feels that he is dangling in mid-air without support. But with the Chinese government has seldom interfered, and the sense of security has issued from his own person. He has suffered no law above himself and above what he personally has been able to do to

promote the perfect life. That is why the Chinese have been true individualists and their politics genuine *Realpolitik*. Western people think immediately of the German politicians, of Treitschke and allied schools, when they hear the word *Realpolitik*; but that same word in the Chinese sense would mean nothing more than a constant ascertaining in individuals, as in nations and states, of how far they have been able to realize the higher ends of life.

And that has been the basis of our judgment of civilizations. We have not been inclined to ask to which tribe or to which people a certain civilization belonged, as though civilization was a mere possession, but to ask to what degree it has been able to make the moral law the essence of its being. Whatever differences there might be between tribes or races have been from the Chinese point of view entirely secondary. The primary thing has been the development of the moral qualities—righteousness, justice, sincerity, truth. These have been the criteria of man's worthiness. When these have been cultivated, no matter by whom, men have been equal before one another.

That was why for many centuries, without any racial or national distinction, there was genuine friendship between the Chinese and the Japanese. And even today that same spirit is shown by the Chinese toward the aboriginal tribes which still survive in many of the inland provinces. They do not receive the sort of treatment which the Americans accord to the Indians; they can live in absolute freedom with their Chinese rulers. One writer once suggested that Western colonization would have been a much happier affair if this Chinese spirit had prevailed over it. And the *London Times*, in reviewing his book, said that the author would even recommend China's colonial policy to the Western nations! This much, however, is certain: without this spirit of tolerance, without the appeal to the moral law as the sole arbiter of right or wrong which eliminates all distinctions of race or creed or nation, the present territory of China might have been divided into as many nations as there are in Europe. China's territory is larger than the entire continent of Europe, her racial heterogeneity is as great, and the so-called period of the warring races could have easily reduced what we at present know as China into a conglomeration of principalities. But that did not come to pass. It is owing to the universal recognition of the power of the moral law over everything else! This I take to be a lesson for the West, and it accords well, I think, with what the editor of *The Nation* said to me: "Chinese civilization which has endured four thousand years has a great deal more to teach the Occident than we, with a century of mechanical inventions which are used for destructive purposes every generation, can teach the Chinese."

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China, Too, Has a Labor Problem

By GARDNER L. HARDING

THE labor problems of modern China, beside China's other problems, are of small magnitude. They are, however, fully keeping pace with the country's rapidly developing capitalism, and in recent years Chinese business men, and foreigners doing business in China especially, have seen the signs of a conflict coming which is entirely alien to the standards of ancient China.

There are now, roughly speaking, half a million Chinese workers organized in trade unions or in modernized guild associations which to all intents and purposes are their equivalent. More than 200,000 of these are factory workers; about 185,000 of them are miners, railwaymen, salt workers and similar outdoor tradesmen, and the rest are composed of seamen, dock-workers, and other classes of labor in the coast and river port cities. The unions to which they belong are legion. There is no really national labor association, nor can there be said to be a compact body comprising a strong proportion of the workers in any one trade. Effective organization does not yet go beyond city or at most provincial limits. Their leaders are unknown to most Chinese and have so far played no part in national life. Their activities have been spontaneous and sporadic, although, like the recent shipping strike in Hongkong, they have had profound and far-reaching effects.

The most typical working-class community in China is Shanghai, where in recent years one of the greatest manufacturing cities in the East has come into being. Along the waterfront of the Whangpoo, in the formerly unheard-of factory districts of Yangtsepoo and Pootung, a veritable miniature Manchester has sprung up. The main industry is cotton manufacturing. Here British, Japanese, and a rapidly increasing proportion of Chinese capital has developed an industry, largely with the aid of American machinery, it is interesting to note, which has enjoyed an amazing success. Some of the mills have paid an average of 25 per cent dividends for the past eight years. The workers are entirely Chinese, and a great proportion of them are women and children. The extent to which the industry is booming may be measured by the fact that since the war the number of spindles has increased from 1,500,000 to about 2,500,000, with fifteen new mills, most of them under Chinese management, in process of construction. Over and over again the attention of the foreign community has been called to the primitive working conditions in these mills. The wages range from 30 to 50 cents a day—one of the secrets of their competitive power—night work and child labor still prevail in many plants, and practically no remedial legislation is enforced by either the Chinese Government or the Shanghai municipal council.

Under these conditions labor organization among the helpless workers, most of them recruited from the country districts, has proceeded apace. There was a great strike in 1913-14 which practically initiated labor conflicts on a large scale in modern China and laid the foundation for the union which now exists. Fortunately, large Chinese employers of labor like C. C. Nieh, president of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the biggest cotton manufacturer, have honestly

met this situation, and of their own accord instituted social-service work, organized factory medical services, lessened the hours and increased the pay, and have dealt willingly with the leaders of the labor community. The result has been that although strikes have been fairly frequent, they have practically never been attended with violence; and the standard of living of the Shanghai factory workers, although still very low, is substantially higher than that prevailing in the districts whence the workers have come.

Generally speaking, the Chinese working community finds its defenders among the student classes, who have been responsible for practically all the organization which has been accomplished. The labor newspaper is no novelty in China; there are three of them in Shanghai alone and others in Canton, Hankow, and other cities, while the tone of the Chinese press in general is rarely intransigent and class conscious when it comes to deal with a labor problem. This is largely due to the fact that so many industrial enterprises are in the hands of foreigners, so that the struggle of Chinese employees of all sorts and conditions readily enlists the sympathy of the Chinese business community.

In disputes between Chinese employers and their workmen, foreigners are frequently amazed at the frequency with which the terms of settlement are arrived at by arbitration. Thus, while the foreign shipowners of Hongkong resisted the demands of the seamen in an acrimonious struggle of more than eight weeks early this year, the Chinese shipping community came to an agreement in the early weeks of the strike, leaving the successive developments of the strike to assume a more and more anti-foreign character.

This is an important phase of the development of China's labor problems. Foreign capital is invested in China to a degree that few Americans realize, and the type of foreign employer and handler of labor is not one who will bear opposition from his Chinese workers in a reasonable spirit. It is to be feared that much of the good work accomplished by foreign missionaries in convincing the Chinese of the enlightened aims of Western civilization will be lost in the ensuing years as Chinese labor, becoming more and more articulate, struggles to shake off the nearest and most oppressive signs of foreign capitalist domination in its dividend-hunting manipulation of business.

The workers' unions in the mines and railways are still local and rudimentary. They are much more like the guild organizations of old Chinese life, with welfare ambitions and community self-improvement ideas superimposed on the traditional guild structures. The Ministry of Communications has a well-defined welfare program which provides lectures, courses in social welfare, and reading-rooms for China's 125,000 railway workers. So far, this seems to be sufficient to meet the situation, for the railway system has been freer from strikes than any other large industry.

China is just emerging from an industrial boom, and unemployment and widespread business dislocation are accentuating the growing pains of labor organization. In the two years following the war, in the Yangtze Valley alone almost 200 industrial enterprises were started with \$75,000,000 Chinese capital. They included mills of all kinds, mining companies, etc., and twenty-six electric plants. The top of the wave has now been passed, and it is computed that 100,000 unemployed workers are faced with the choice of going back to the country or competing with each other for jobs in the large ports. In these circumstances the Chinese labor problem is bound to become rapidly more acute.

The Educational Transition in China

By MAURICE T. PRICE

THE training a Chinese receives in the home and in a vocation—whether as housewife, agriculturist, artisan, or trader—and later in guild and civic responsibilities constitutes processes neglected in recent Western education which present-day theory and experimental schools are trying rather desperately to restore. We are bending our efforts to regain by artificial schooling what the typical Chinese youth is still acquiring informally through age-long family, industrial, and community customs. The crucial question is whether our Western industrial civilization will thrust itself upon the Orient and destroy this home-industry-and-community type of education before a school technique suited to our machine-era of civilization is created to take its place.

In the meantime certain forces are trying to get a hand on the prolonged educational transition now in its embryonic stages. Anyone can do so. Independent schools are not restricted or held to a standard, just as doctors are not licensed. And a million out of the five and a half million said to be enrolled in the schools of China are in private native schools, as a whole superior to the public ones. The largest number under consolidated alien influence are the 185,000 in the Protestant missionary schools. These virtually inaugurated Western education in the Far East, and hence have had an influence much larger than their present proportions would indicate. Today some of the best educators and education in the Orient are found in mission schools together with much that is crude.

Until recently it did not occur to the Western Powers, as represented by business, that schools might be a good tool of quiet penetration for them too. So far as I can ascertain, their present competition for educational influence in the Orient developed thus: When trade was getting under way, British business concerns in Shanghai and other open ports were in need of Chinese employees who could speak English. Without much urging, therefore, they started "municipal" schools in those ports—eventually Hongkong University appeared upon the scene. French and German schools of lesser proportions were naturally launched. After the Boxer uprising the United States very righteously put its indemnity money into Tsing Hua College with the beneficently paternalistic aim of allowing Chinese youth to complete their education in America. With the close of the World War, the foreign press in China became greatly aroused over the disclosure of what purported to be an elaborate scheme of German interests for schools throughout China. It provided even for the twisting of German mission schools to suit the avowed penetration policy of the Teutons. The spasm of "righteous indignation" had hardly died down when the French announced that their government was giving 500,000 francs toward establishing a branch of the University of Paris in a Chinese university, and that the Chinese were giving 750,000 francs toward this and schools for the education of Chinese in France itself. And 2,000 young Celestials were induced to form the first contingent to France. This was too much for the British chambers of commerce in China. In 1920 they organized an Anglo-Chinese Educational Committee in Shang-

hai to encourage the training of Chinese students and artisans in Great Britain; started importing the prospectuses and catalogues of schools in England; linked the Anglo-Chinese Friendship Bureau of Great Britain with their scheme; started a financial program aimed especially at backing British high schools in China; and even passed formal resolutions about the matter!

But certain nationalists in China can be counted on to play their hand too. When the Tientsin treaty of 1860 forced the door of China open and she resignedly inaugurated schools for official interpreters, there was soon added international law, Western military and engineering departments, and the sciences. Especially after the victory of "Westernized" Japan over China in 1895, until the World War, China set herself to acquire the knowledge of the West in a more or less wholesale fashion and to build up a system of schools patterned after Western models. The salient impression an outsider gets from the country's attempts at Westernized or semi-Westernized education is of inefficiency, often due to most severe handicaps. Avowedly schooling is compulsory for the first four years, or lower primary period. As a matter of fact there is an utter dearth of teachers for any such huge program. And, of the 200,000 employed to teach the 4,300,000 pupils in government schools in 1916—there are no later statistics available to the public!—"only about half of them had received some sort of school training. The great majority of the primary school-teachers had never entered a classroom as students before they took up the teaching profession."* Nominally, the country's schools are under the control of the Ministry of Education in Peking, enforced through provincial civil governors and provincial commissioners of education. Actually the ascendancy of provincial military governors and the chaos of decentralization throughout the country leaves the schools in local hands. The degree of efficiency may be gauged by the fact that it takes 111,000 administrative officers to direct 150,000 lower primary school-teachers, and 130,000 to direct the total 200,000 teachers!

The inordinate amount of time required for the Chinese language in the primary school prevents the child from getting a great deal of what is taught Western children. Whether the method of teaching it or the written language itself is to blame is a matter of dispute. Most of the textbooks in the high schools are translations and crude adaptations of Western works; the content is not taken from their own familiar civilization.

In spite of the famed docility of the Chinese pupil, discipline is notoriously difficult in the higher schools, as is evidenced by the familiar student strike against some administrative policy and the dropping of examinations in some schools by sheer compulsion from below. And when in December, 1920, the teachers in the government schools of Peking were long due back-pay, they struck. Nevertheless a small number of college graduates have recently initiated more efficient normal training, an awakened university policy, and programs for adequate library facilities. Graduates that have recently become disillusioned of shibboleths of democracy, equality, and self-determination of weaker peoples are turning to the educative values in Chinese society; they are clamoring for aid in developing an indigenous education that preserves these values. There is an earnest group that sees the situation, but its task is huge.

* *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, December, 1920, p. 302-303.

China's Changing Politics

By CHARLES HODGES

DURING the decade of its existence republican China has been between the deep sea of world politics in the East and the devil of recurrent revolutions. Since the First Revolution in 1911-1912, overthrowing the Manchu dynasty, there have succeeded six appeals to arms in the settlement of political differences—either republican protests at the juggernaut of reaction or coups d'état of the Bourbon mandarins of the old Middle Kingdom bent on defeating the new order in the Land of Han.

When a modern Spring and Autumn Annals is compiled, doubtless this era of republican China's fight for stability will be known again as "the fighting states period," the "Seven Martial States" of some two thousand years ago contending for empire being likened to the present-day factions battling for supremacy. These struggles, as in China's older feudal age, likewise have jeopardized Chinese unity and kept the country in incessant strife. The Mexicanizing of China's politics through government by revolution has brought the four hundred million Chinese close to an international receivership. The present crisis is being precipitated by those Chinese who clearly see that the future of a republican China is at stake and are prepared unequivocally to accept the issue; they are practical patriots. The conditions antecedent to today's crisis may be summarized thus:

1911-1912

Manchu dynasty overthrown by Chinese republicans and provisional government established headed by Sun Yat-sen.

1912

Sun superseded by Yuan Shih-kai, ex-imperialist and "strong man."

1913

Second revolution precipitated by parliamentary opposition from Kuomintang, the Southern Republican Party, and suppressed by Northern armies; Yuan proscribes members.

1915

Third revolution commenced by South to block Yuan Shih-kai's monarchy scheme to make himself Emperor; the "President-Emperor" dies a failure, 1916, from opposition of Yunnan revolt.

1917

Manchu restoration attempted by Chang Hsun, with Northern military leaders first acquiescing and then defeating move headed by Tuan Chi-jui.

Fourth revolution results from Northern leaders under Tuan Chi-jui seizing Peking government; Southerners withdraw.

"THE NORTH"

PEKING GOVERNMENT 1918

Anfu Club, headed by Tuan Chi-jui, dominates North and gains recognition of Powers before Southern opposition is effective.

1920

Alliance of Northern "War Lords," opposing Anfu Club, oust Tuan as Peking Premier.

"THE SOUTH"

CANTON GOVERNMENT 1919

Canton government, headed by Sun Yat-sen, Wu Ting-fang, and old Southern leaders, is overthrown by Lu Yung-ting and Southern militarists.

1920

Republican leaders return to control of Canton government, resuming struggle against North.

From 1917 to the present time China has been split in two, and intermittent civil war with much internal maneuvering in both camps has been the order of the day. The lines have been drawn generally speaking in the Yangtze Valley with "neutral provinces" as a third factor in the game, although "North" and "South" is a geographic misnomer coming rather to signify two opposing points of view. The real issue lies between parceling China out into a series of military principalities under arbitrary personal rule blocking unification and doing away with this new feudalism by reuniting the twenty-one provinces under civilian government—the aim of the so-called Canton "constitutional" government. The happy hunting-ground of "strong" men with a gift for political generalship in the last half dozen years has come to be this so-called "North"—hence the internal factional fights now rending China's new feudalism have taken on national significance as dissension in Northern ranks has enabled the South's opposition government to play one leader against his rivals above the Yangtze.

The break which has come between the backers of the Peking regime since the first of the year is a crucial political maneuver affecting the immediate future of China as a whole. Its background is the story of the meteoric rise of three "tuchuns"—military governors of provinces—following the overthrow of the Anfu Club. This faction in the Northern Military Party under the leadership of General Tuan Chi-jui dominated the Peking regime from the ousting of the Southern elements in the aftermath of the Manchu coup of 1917 to the summer of 1920. Two tuchuns who had grown so powerful in the interim that a showdown with the Anfu dictatorship was inevitable chose this moment for a summer house-cleaning in their own political interests. Chang Tso-lin, military governor of Fengtien Province or South Manchuria, and Tsao Kun, holding a similar position around the capital in Chihli, joined forces for a combined onslaught.

The latter's doughty henchman, General Wu Pei-fu, did the actual fighting about Peking, his crack forces lying to the south in the Yangtze Valley sending the Anfu leaders into the shelter of the friendly Japanese Legation after a decisive descent upon the Northern capital. Nothing better shows the kaleidoscopic changes in Chinese politics than this coup which upset incidentally what might have been a reconciliation, so the story goes, between the Peking and Canton regimes had not these events of two years ago intervened before the deal could be consummated.

When the victorious tuchuns, Chang and Tsao, took over the running of the Peking Cabinet, "advising" President Hsu Shih-chang from behind the scenes and generally picking up the reins of government so precipitately dropped by the defeated Anfuites that summer day in 1920, a triangular rivalry succeeded. The preliminaries of this manifested themselves as Chang Tso-lin and Tsao Kun, respectively heading what is known as the "Fengtien Party" and the "Chihli Party" in the great Northern military combination, decided to have the President issue a mandate from Peking making them "High Inspecting Commissioners." There thus came into being "super-tuchuns," as it were, who were

the overlords of the less powerful military governors in the adjacent provinces. Subsequently a third super-tuchun, Wang Chan-yuan, appeared in the Yangtze Valley where the North was maintaining the status quo against the South. Tuchun Wu Pei-fu, who, as a follower of Super-Tuchun Tsao Kun, had been trailing the fortunes of the Chihli leader, skilfully played his cards to supplant this third super-tuchun in the Yangtze sphere and make himself the equal of his old leader.

In this way did China north of the Yangtze become divided, like Caesar's Gaul, into three parts—three high inspecting commissioners preparing for a falling out by the close of 1921. Chang Tso-lin dominated Manchuria as the super-tuchun of the Three Eastern Provinces; Tsao Kun held the provinces about Peking; and with him stood somewhat independently Wu Pei-fu as the lord of the Yangtze Valley.

Increasing difficulty was experienced by the civil government within Peking in getting funds from the provinces gripped by this military feudalism. A series of Cabinet crises resulted as a succession of premiers took leaves of absence or found themselves "sick" under the impossible task of keeping alive a government which functioned only on sufferance beyond the walls of the capital. The situation balanced itself precariously pending the next upshot of politics backed by armies—Wu Pei-fu's challenge to Chang Tso-lin from the Yangtze Valley over the recent moves of the Liang Shih-yi Cabinet toward unification.

The inwardness of the situation is that for some time the Canton Government has been making itself once again felt above the Yangtze. The division developing between the two dominant factions in the North is being utilized by the South in a supreme effort to bring about a realignment making China's unification possible. Missions have been exchanged between Super-Tuchun Chang Tso-lin and the Canton regime, the war lord in the North foreseeing the approach of a conflict between his own Fengtien faction and the Chihli clique now actually headed by General Wu Pei-fu, his most dangerous rival.

From the South, the Canton Government's anti-North expedition is moving upon Hunan, the gateway to the Yangtze held by a none too secure ally of Tuchun Wu Pei-fu. In the train of this Southern offensive are the leaders of the old Anfu Club worsted by Wu two years ago. Now these same Anfu partisans, never completely ousted from the mouth of the Yangtze, are throwing in their lot thus far with the South. In the North, Chang Tso-lin, understood to be effecting a working agreement with the Canton Government, controls the Peking regime and is rushing his Manchurian forces southward to block the possibility of Wu Pei-fu executing a move on the capital to secure the "support" of the "Tuchun's President," the estimable old mandarin Hsu Shih-chang.

The effect of this strange combination is to isolate for the moment Super-Tuchun Wu Pei-fu in the heart of the Yangtze Valley. Will this alliance of new friends and enemies eventuate to his defeat? Will General Wu Pei-fu challenge their program of unification as the last of the new feudal barons whose ambitions have almost wrecked China? Can the South, in the event of a general acceptance of its proposals for peace, emerge successful when the division of the spoils begins?

Circular telegrams and conferences are the order of the day. Political centers from Mukden in the North to Can-

ton in the South, Peking, Tientsin, Hankow, Shanghai, are seething with cross-purposes. There is a general feeling in China that the present chaos inherent in the arbitrary military rule based on provinces as fiefs which masquerades under a tattered cloak of republicanism has "lost its mandate from Heaven"—that it is destined to go because it no longer has sanction. The magic of "republic" and the dimly understood symbolism of the "First Revolution" have had too tenacious a hold upon China to be cast aside; yet it has not been strong enough to be translated into effective popular decisions.

The situation sums itself up at this moment in the following terms: (1) Sun Yat-sen, head of the Canton Government and nominally once more President of China, elected by the remaining members of China's last regular parliament, is working for the unification of the country on the basis of the existing organic law of the land, ready to cooperate with all who are willing to accept this objective. (2) Super-Tuchun Chang Tso-lin, the "protector" of the Peking regime headed by President Hsu Shih-chang, who was elected by the admittedly illegal "Tuchun's Parliament" of 1918, controls North China. (3) General Tuan Chi-jui, leader of the ousted Anfu faction, has been working to throw Anfu support behind the Canton Government from a variety of motives. (4) Super-Tuchun Wu Pei-fu, holding Central China and threatening Peking, is the crux of the difficulty blocking Sun's transfer of the Canton regime to the birthplace of China's First Revolution of 1911 in the center of the Twenty-one Provinces as the first step toward unification.

The reconstruction of China politically involves five points. First, a convention of the rival factions must be brought about to draft the terms of peace. Second, it must arrange for political unification, especially settling the delicate problem of the dual "central" governments in Peking and Canton. Third, provincial self-government under civil control must be provided, with ways and means for the disbanding of the personal armies of the rival tuchuns now aggregating about 1,600,000 men. Fourth, the costs of this political reconstruction must be financed and the central government released from its present bankruptcy due to the diversion of revenue to the hands of the military leaders. Fifth, the machinery of responsible republican government—though not an occidental democracy in China's present state of development—must be created along constitutional lines.

The instinct for order is the strongest Chinese characteristic because without it the empty rice bowl stares millions in the face. The destructiveness of China's "civil wars" has not been in the military operations—actual collisions are only a last resort when political disposition of troops on the chess-board of China fails. It lies in the breakdown of China's life-sustaining machinery in the near future if present tendencies are not checked. The amazing thing about the course of events to date is the ability of work-a-day China to carry on under the huge overload of political chaos up to the present moment.

The outlook rests upon the willingness of Chinese leaders to face the situation and work out a lasting settlement. The alternative is overwhelming disorder, perhaps three more or less independent governments appearing, with a Central China under Wu Pei-fu rivaling Canton and Peking openly, and international complications menacing China's freedom and world peace.

The Chinese Family

By S. G. SU

IN China a married son seldom establishes a new house; he continues to live with his bride in the home of his parents. When his sons marry, they and their wives live in the same household with their parents and grandparents. Thus a Chinese family sometimes includes several generations, from the great-grandparents to the great-grandchildren. It is indicative of the harmony and happiness of Chinese family life that the descendants of common ancestors can dwell together in the same household for generations. In modern China, of course, a family comprising many generations is hard to find, even in the rural districts. The typical family of the present includes two or three generations.

Every Chinese family, even those no larger than the Western family, has a family head called *Chia-chang*, meaning "elder of the family." In the small family, consisting of husband, wife, and children, the husband, as a rule, is the *Chia-chang*. Upon his death, the mother becomes the *Chia-chang*. In case both parents die, and the surviving children unanimously decide to continue living together in one family, the eldest brother becomes the *Chia-chang*, provided he is deemed worthy of the position. The qualifications of a *Chia-chang* are, first, seniority, irrespective of sex, and, secondly, character and ability.

As executive and financial head of the family, the *Chia-chang* has the right to demand that all members turn their earnings into the common purse to be used for the current expenses of the family and to keep in the common treasury all income from the family estates; but he is not empowered to dispose of any part of the family property for any purpose save the welfare of the whole family, nor arbitrarily to divide the property among the members of the family. He must care for and disburse the funds in a way that will insure the support and maintenance of the whole family. In view of his great responsibility for the family's welfare, both the old and new law gives him the sole right to admit, or to refuse admission to, new members. But he has no parental power over the members of the family unless they be his own children. If he rules, it is in the family's interest; if he is the lord of the family possessions, he holds them in trust for each and every member. The family, in fact, is a corporation and the *Chia-chang* is its manager. The relation between him and the members of the family is reciprocal; his obligations, indeed, are more numerous than his rights. Upon his death a family may break up if there is no one who will take his place. A family may also be dissolved during his lifetime if all the members desire to establish separate families, provided permission is obtained from him. When the eldest brother is the *Chia-chang* such permission is not required. Thus, the principle of democratic government underlies the Chinese family organization.

Parental power in China was very great, though not so "unlimited" or "despotic" as has been generally supposed. In the new civil code of the Chinese Republic parental power is still maintained and jealously safeguarded; but if one study carefully the Chinese laws, both old and new, one will find that parental power is not prescribed as an arbitrary right to be exercised for the benefit or pleasure of the

parents but as a means of protecting the best interests of the child. In business transactions and other external domestic affairs, the father, provided he is at the same time the *Chia-chang*, represents the family. He signs all contracts and agreements. All properties and lands are owned by the family in his name; but he cannot dispose of any of the family property, nor even his own personal property, arbitrarily. He can make no will in the English sense of the word, nor any unjust division of the family property among his children. All his children, married daughters excepted, have a legal claim to the family property, of which they cannot be deprived. Disinheritance of a son is permissible only upon the ground of incorrigibility and consequent expulsion from the family. Even in these unusual cases the father cannot act arbitrarily or alone. He must assemble all his kindred and consult them; and their decision in so serious a matter must be unanimous. Under the old law if a father or mother chastises a child "in a severe and uncouth manner, so that he or she dies, the party so offending shall be punished with 100 blows (with bamboo cudgel)," and if the party is guilty of "killing such disobedient child designedly, the punishment shall be increased to sixty blows and a year's banishment." The new law also limits parents to a reasonable chastisement of their children; and, if a child be guilty of a grave offense, "the father or mother having parental rights may, for the purpose of correcting his or her child, apply to the Court of Justice for the infliction of a punishment not exceeding six months' imprisonment." Parents may not sell their children against the latter's will, nor compel their son or daughter to marry contrary to the law, under pain of severe punishment. Moreover, Chinese parents are obliged to care for and support their children, under pain of penal servitude for a term of from two months to four years.

On the other hand, sons cannot establish separate families or divide the family property among themselves without parental consent. Neither sons nor daughters, under the age of twenty, can contract valid marriage without consulting their parents in advance; and, if the husband is under thirty or the wife under twenty-five, divorce cannot be obtained without the permission of parents. The duty of children to support their parents and grandparents is implicit and explicit. "Any person who abandons any of his lineal ascendants shall be liable to penal servitude for life or for a term of from five to fifteen years" and "shall upon conviction be deprived of his civil rights." Apart from legal compulsion, Chinese children are taught by precept and example throughout their lifetimes to reverence their parents and to see that they suffer neither want nor sorrow. As a rule the old people in the Chinese family are jealously taken care of by the younger members. This is one of the reasons why the "Old People's Home," or any public institution of the kind, is practically unknown in China.

The respect and obedience due to parents are also extended, in some measure, to all the elder members in the family. This is simply a matter of etiquette and good taste on the part of the younger people. The assertion, often made, that the younger members of a Chinese family are

subservient to their elders and that the unrestricted authority of their elders suppresses and sometimes crushes their individualities, is inconsistent with the facts. Any member of a Chinese family, young or old, who achieves success in any walk of life, is always looked up to by the others with greatest respect. The child, boy or girl, who leads in his or her studies at school is the pride of the family. It is not uncommon to see elder brothers carrying a lunch pail to school for their younger brothers or sisters and waiting on them during the meal. Elder brothers of poor families, impelled by affection and a sense of duty, often voluntarily forego opportunities for their own education in order to add to the family income and thereby provide educational advantages for their younger brothers and sisters. Younger brothers and sisters in China do respect and obey their elder brothers and sisters, but it is not that the elders have any divine right to compel obedience and respect. It is, rather, an expression of affection and of the conviction that the greater experience and knowledge of the elders justify reliance upon their judgment and guidance. But if the elder be a dullard, or in any way unworthy, his position in the family is no higher than that of any of the younger members. The Chinese genealogical system makes the eldest son the "continuator" of his father's line, but the "continuator" enjoys no special privileges of inheritance. English primogeniture has never had a counterpart in China.

The practice of "ancestor worship" is also an outstanding feature of the Chinese family system. According to the doctrine of filial piety, reverence and respect for one's parents endure not only throughout the lifetime of the parents but throughout the lifetime of the child. "While his parents are alive, he reverently cares for them, and, when they are dead, he reverently makes sacrifices unto them." Thus "ancestor worship" has been perpetuated in China, not primarily for superstitious or religious reasons, as most foreign observers imagine, but as a continuation of respect to deceased parents and, to a lesser extent, to more remote ancestors.

What is the nature of "ancestor worship"? In China almost every family has, in the main hall of the house, its "ancestral shrine" wherein are arranged the ancestral tablets. These tablets are made of wood or stone or marble, according to the financial circumstances of the family, and inscribed thereon are the names, titles, dates of birth and death of deceased ascendants and the names and degrees of relationship of their nearest living descendants. Worship, if we can use the term appropriately, is generally performed twice a year, on the birthday and the death-day of the departed. The ceremonies consist chiefly of obeisances before the tablets. The use of the tablet as an object of reverence is not due to the belief that the spirit of the departed resides in it, but rather that it is a symbol to be remembered and respected by the living; and the days set apart for "worship" are no more religious than is remembrance of the dead.

The good effects of "ancestor worship" upon the social life in China cannot be overestimated. According to the prevalent understanding of filial piety in China, the highest duty of children is "the honoring of our parents," and "the chief thought is how, to the end of our life, not to disgrace them." "When the parents are dead, and the son carefully watches his actions so that a bad name involving his parents may not be handed down, he may then be said

to maintain his filial piety to the end." "He whom the superior man pronounces filial is he whom all the people of his state praise, saying with admiration, 'Happy are the parents who have such a son as this!'" This is one of the reasons why "there is no more orderly community than China in the world." "The government is disorderly, but the people are orderly. For instance, there were 23,000 arrests in Peking in one year—not so many considering the great size of its population—and of these only 345 were for a breach of the peace. That will indicate pretty well the orderly conduct of the citizens of China."

It has often been said that concubinage is an institution in China. This, again, is a case of superficial observation. Concubinage is no more an institution in China than prostitution is an institution in Occidental countries. An institution, in the right sense of the word, must be consciously permitted by public opinion and backed by an adequate and rightful authority, i. e., the civil law of the state. Concubinage in China is neither a marriage, even in the sense of the English common law, nor a criminal relation between man and woman. It is neither encouraged by public opinion nor is it expressly prohibited by the law in China; and it is just as abnormal and exceptional as is the "mistress" in the Western world. Under the old regime it was indulged in by official and noble classes and to some extent by very rich people. But even then not many of such so-called high-class people in China had concubines. A concubine has no legal status; in case she is ill-treated by her man, she, as a concubine, cannot claim justice in a court of law. Hence, to consider concubinage as a part of the Chinese family system is as inaccurate as to say that the practice of having a "mistress" is a part of the English or French family system. Its evil effects upon the position of woman in China cannot be said to be greater than that of the "white slave" traffic or prostitution upon the position of woman in the Occidental world.

The position of woman in China can be compared favorably with that of her sisters in the West. In the public thoroughfare or in a crowd she receives most courteous treatment from man. As a wife her position is not lower than the wife in the Western family. She has equal rights in instituting divorce proceedings, in the custody of children, and in property. Furthermore, if she is successful in a divorce suit, she can claim a certain amount of alimony, according to her husband's social and financial position. In the domestic circle she is supreme. As a mother she shares with her husband in the protection given against undutiful children. She receives the greatest reverence from her children. If a man ill-treats his mother the offense is held almost too frightful to be contemplated. After her death she is honored by three years' mourning by her children, and the tablet on which her name is inscribed receives perpetual reverence from her children. After the death of her husband, she may remarry or remain unmarried. If she remains unmarried and in her husband's family, she inherits his titles and emoluments and succeeds to his position in the family organization. The Chinese people are delighted in honoring and respecting the widow. In the old days the good widow who had properly brought up her children to maturity and faithfully fulfilled her other duties received an imperial reward in the form of a gateway or arch erected in her honor in the community where she lived. These gateways and arches are to be seen in almost every village in China. As long as she lives her sons

have no right to divide the family property among themselves without her consent. Provided she allows them to do so, all the sons have to contribute in some way to her support, under pain of severe punishment by civil authority.

Reverting to the working of the Chinese family system as a whole, the father or the head of the family manages the whole family's affairs while the mother and the women members of the family are responsible for the internal workings of the household. All the women help in the household work. In some families even the women contribute to the support of the family by bringing into the home suitable outside work, like sewing, embroidering, and weaving. Every individual works for the family and not for himself alone. Should any member be invalid or otherwise helpless, all the others must aid him and support him. Pride as well as duty demands this; for it would be a disgrace to the whole family to let him struggle alone or receive help from outsiders. The benevolent communism of the Chinese family renders unnecessary institutions of public charity.

Thus every member of the family learns from childhood to labor for the common good, to respect his elders, to be loyal to his whole family, to love and cooperate with his relatives without submerging his individuality in the solidarity of the group. He is prepared in the family, "the state in miniature," for effective citizenship in the greater state, the nation. It is not too much to say that the organization of the Chinese family, based as it is on mutual respect, mutual love, and mutual aid, has done more for China and for the preservation of Chinese civilization than any other single institution. Above all, it has laid the foundation and prepared the way for modern Chinese democracy.

In the Driftway

THE Drifter's memory for poetry is mediocre at the best, but in the country on a glorious day, among all the sights and sounds which poets have captured for their pages, it balks especially. Is this the reason that he resents the fluency of friends who holiday with him and seem to have all verse at their tongue's end? Sour grapes or not, he is resentful. He has left his Shakespeare and his Milton and his Herrick—yes, and his Bartlett—on their proper shelves, and he takes his mind to nature blank, ready, even eager, for brand-new impressions and possibly new phrases of his own to express them. The primrose by the river's brim may prove to be a simple primrose, or it may be volumes more; but either primrose will be what he sees with innocent eyes. Sometimes he feels himself full of a tentative, satisfying fancy, and he has no doubt that he will return a richer, though possibly a no less silent, man. But what does he hear as his party picks its way across the hills? "Hail to thee, blithe spirit!" "Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright!" "When the hounds of spring are on winter's traces—" "My heart leaps up when I behold—" "Fair daffodils, we weep to see—" "Over hill, over dale, Thorough bush, thorough brier—" Yes! And thorough all old poetry he goes, seeing Shakespeare in a shrub, Shelley in a brook, or Milton in the newly risen moon. It may be sour grapes, but he is sad in the evening when they haul him home, his trousers stuck with troublesome burrs and his brain stuck fuller yet with troublesome tags.

IF he is no longer pursued by the poetry quoters, the Drifter usually finds much pleasure in the spring woods. Recently he followed a brook on whose banks small spear points of skunk cabbage and speckled Jack-in-the-pulpits grew amiably side by side. He waded for a while in the aching cold water and then, scuffling out through last year's leaves, found the gentlest of Spring's children almost under his feet: windflowers, purple and white, with fuzzy gray stems, so fragile that they wither a few minutes after they are broken—if anyone has the heart to break them. The Drifter had last seen them at night, with the moon only occasionally visible. There were the little windflowers, ghostly white under the moon, and quite black when its light was obscured. Though it seemed proper for the color to have faded from sturdy grass and firm brown branches, the Drifter mourned the lost purple of the anemone. He was glad, therefore, to see them again in the daytime, pushing up delicate, shining faces above the crackling leaves.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Bryan vs. Ingersoll

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Many thanks for your excellent article in *The Nation* of April 5, entitled Mr. Bryan's Religion. Why, in the name of common sense and the Progressive Party, must religion parade in the swaddling clothes of ignorance and superstition? From remote ages it seems to have been the one barrier to every endeavor of the human mind to make progress. What the world needs in a religious way, is another Ingersoll.

Nampa, Idaho, April 5

GEORGE F. GILMORE

The Profits of Farming

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The social phenomenon of decreasing farm ownership to which attention was called by E. E. Miller in a recent number of *The Nation* is not a simple one and cannot be made to disappear by a simple change in the methods of taxation. It seems to me that Mr. Miller makes no mention at all of the most important of underlying conditions: American agriculture is today in the transition period from pioneer farming to farming by the application of considerable amounts of capital. Almost without exception the American farmer owes such means as he possesses not to his labor, nor to profits on his investment, but to the rise in land values. The time has come when similar operations have, generally speaking, become impossible. "Free land" has nearly disappeared, and the market value of wild lands is much higher than it ought to be, because much of it is kept out of the market by speculators. Here is the one point where Mr. Miller's remedy of making speculative holding of wild land unprofitable by taxation would do some good. But that would by no means help the man who owns a developed farm and finds that its management is unprofitable. His need is not more land but more capital, in order to buy better live stock and fertilizers, to build silos and better barns, to drain his marshy lands, and generally bring his farm up to modern standards.

This is the real problem at the bottom of the agricultural question. And this question will not be solved until it is realized that agriculture has never been, in any country or under any economic conditions, an occupation by which fortunes, whether large or small, could be acquired. In other words, from the capitalistic point of view, farming has always been and is now unprofitable. Even the capital invested in the highly intense agriculture of Central Europe has never been expected to

yield more than 4 or at most 5 per cent net profit. Where is that increased capital to come from? The obvious way to do this is by loans; and it will be the part of wise statesmanship to produce such diversion to a far greater extent than is done by the present half-hearted attempt through the Federal farm loans, with their cumbersome organization.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin, February 26 ERNEST BRUNCKEN

The Secret Treaties Again

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Perhaps I may add some light on the question of whether President Wilson did or did not know of the secret treaties before he went to Paris. Certainly I know that the State Department knew of them. For in the spring of 1917 I wrote a book, "Constantine I and the Greek People," which dealt very largely with the secret treaties, especially the Treaty of London, in their relation to the Entente's attitude toward Greece, and as I wrote it, I sent a carbon copy of the MS. to the State Department and received an acknowledgment from the Third Assistant Secretary of State that it had been read with interest; I also talked with several members of the State Department about the content of the book, and about the secret treaties.

When the book was ready for issue, in May, 1917, I myself took a copy to the Bureau of Public Information, where it was also read. At the same time my publishers, the Century Company, also sent a copy to the President, and I subsequently received a verbal message that he too had read it with interest.

Now, on p. 31 of the book the terms of the Pact of London are set forth as they applied to the relations of Italy and Greece and on p. 38 a direct reference is made to this same secret agreement in its relation to Italy and Serbia, while on pp. 23-24 and 129-130 and elsewhere reference is also made to the existence of something like Documents 5 and 6 of the second instalment of secret treaties as published in the New York *Evening Post*, in regard to Russia's attitude toward the Straits and Constantinople.

It is perhaps interesting to note that almost immediately after receiving an unequivocal message that the President had read this book, with all of its revelations of secret agreements and secret diplomacy, my publishers advised me that they had been "unofficially" requested to withhold the book from publication precisely on the ground that its revelations of the type of intrigue in which our new allies had been indulging and of the secret treaties by which they were bound would tend to supply the opponents of the war in this country with ammunition for their opposition, as well as to embarrass our new allies. It was upon these grounds that the book was in fact withheld from publication until 1920.

New York, April 14

PAXTON HIBBEN

Prosperity Through Higher Wages

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will you grant a little space to a union wage-earner in re a phase of the wage question which I believe hasn't received the consideration its importance justifies.

In every industry, from transmission of intelligence to loading and unloading great lake steamers—with few exceptions—during the modern industrial era the effectiveness of the human unit has been multiplied by one, two, and sometimes three figures. That a just proportion of the blessings and benefits of labor-saving inventions and processes, and discoveries in industrial science, should accrue to wage-earners; that such accrual has not been realized; that the general campaign for lower wages is bad economic policy, and is working injustice; that any reduction in wage rates tends to lessen rather than increase the volume of business; that such campaign has

its inception in speed, stupidity, and a feeling of class disdain are truths as self-evident as Pike's Peak.

During the era, the average work-day has been shortened about 20 per cent. But a comparison of the reward of the average worker, measured in the things of life, with that of one, two, three, and even four decades ago, will show little, if any, increase. Encouraged by the triumph of reaction in 1920 and widespread unemployment, organized and unorganized capital is seeking to drive American labor to a near-coolie condition, implying that such is necessary to capture foreign markets and restore prosperity; and through a preponderant control of the mediums of publicity the general public has to an extent been imbued with the notion that more private poverty is conducive to more public prosperity.

It is generally agreed that the cause of business stagnation is low-buying ability at home and abroad, and consequent underconsumption. Therefore, it would seem that the province of enlightened citizenship is to strive for higher rather than lower general wage-rates; to get the workers to buying more goods and dealers to selling more goods, which will stimulate business all along the line. The plan of lower wage-rates is ethically unjust because labor derives no benefit from increased productivity, and it is poor public policy because it will result in a smaller volume of business. The policies of Henry Ford prove that high wages and short hours are conducive to industrial success.

THOMAS A. MCCANN

Colorado Springs, Colorado, March 31

Brusilov on Sovietism

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Apropos of the assertions of the London *Daily Herald* concerning General Wrangel's preparations for a fresh attack against Russia, and of Trotzky's recent alarming statements and warnings, it may be of interest to your readers to become acquainted with the declaration of General Brusilov, as it appeared in a late *Izvestia*:

After the demobilization and complete destruction of the old army, Soviet Russia found itself in an exceedingly difficult position, possessing practically no properly organized armed forces. The enormous task of forming an army, despite all obstacles, has been accomplished during these four years, and in truth this tremendous work has been carried out quite fruitfully.

It should be admitted that this achievement owes considerable to the numerous representatives of the old army who have joined the Soviet Government and have exerted all their powers for the organization of the army. In particular one must emphasize the enormous energy and the colossal activity of the chief military commissar, Trotzky.

Personally I think that Russia, no matter what its political order, cannot exist without a strong army. I consider therefore the development and enforcement of the Red Army absolutely desirable for the integrity of Russia. In my opinion the Bolsheviks—I do not know whether consciously or unconsciously—have accomplished a great thing, in the sense I understand it, i. e., they prevented our suffering Russia from disintegrating into small parts, and, with the exception of a few borderlands, they have consolidated the parts that had broken away. I consider this a great national cause. But this could certainly not have been done without the cooperation of the army.

As a result of propagating the idea of the International, the Soviet Government has fortified, in my opinion, the national consciousness of Russian men and has raised their patriotic spirit, of which, to our shame, they had possessed so little. I consider that the present economic policy of the government, which is reflected on all branches of our state life, leads toward the fortification of Soviet Russia. In order that Russia may develop freely, it is imperative that no one meddle in our internal affairs. Without the aid of any foreigners, we alone must reconstruct and reestablish a firm order. . . .

Is this a caveat for the whole tribe of Wrangels, Petluras, Semionovs, Savinkovs, and their backers?

Berkeley, California, March 25

ALEXANDER KAUN

The Roving Critic

Tower of Ivory

ASKED the first time, recently, what was the origin of the phrase "tower of ivory," I guessed that it must come from the French and pointed out that it was growing remarkably current. Asked a second time, a little later, I looked into the Century and the New English dictionaries and found that neither of them explained, recorded, or traced the fine locution. Asked the third time, the other day, I did what I should have done at the beginning: I went to Miss Mudge at the Columbia University Library and found that she had, as with so many interesting and valuable topics, already looked it up. And being as generous as she is erudite, she allows me to make use of her researches.

The phrase springs originally from the Song of Songs (which is not Solomon's) and is there an epithet of the beloved. "Thy neck," says the lover, "is as a tower of ivory"—meaning thereby, according to Morris Jastrow, to praise its columnar whiteness. In the Litany of Loreto, published in the middle of the sixteenth century, the epithet is transferred to the Mother of Christ, in a rapturous salutation meant to refer to her virginity as being as secure as a tower, or fortress, and as valuable as ivory. That the reference is less to her beauty than to her goodness appears from the fact that various French Psalm-books translate the Latin "Turris eburnea" by "Modèle de pureté."

The modern usage, purely secular in its application, first appears in Sainte-Beuve. In a poetical epistle written about 1837, called simply A M. Villemain, and included in the "Pensées d'Aout," Sainte-Beuve, characterizing contemporary poets, says that Alfred de Vigny, in contrast to Victor Hugo who bore his banner into the thick of the fight, lived a more secret life and sought his tower of ivory before noon.

"Et Vigny, plus secret,
Comme en sa tour d'ivoire, avant midi, rentrait."

The words at once became current with regard to Vigny and have remained inseparably associated with his name. Sainte-Beuve himself, at the reception of Vigny to the French Academy a decade later, repeated them. "For a long time," he said of the poet, "he has held himself apart upon his hill, and, as I said to him one day, he entered before noon into his tower of ivory." But of course, like other happy phrases, this one escaped from its original association and came to be applied more generally. Hector France in his "Dictionnaire de la langue verte" says that it means "to retire from the world, to wish to be ignorant of the things of this life, to live like religious men and women in a perpetual seraphic hallucination." There is of course in the secular usage the same sense of inaccessibility as in the epithet addressed to the Virgin, and the same sense of the preciousness and rarity of the place of retreat. Roger Alexandre in "Le Musée de la conversation" thinks of the phrase as implying a desire "to taste in peace the exquisite sweetness of reverie and study." As the words become more commonly used, they tend to carry with them a sense of selfish isolation.

Just when the phrase crossed to England and the United States I have not been able to make sure. In both countries, of course, there have been numerous persons who knew Sainte-Beuve and Vigny, and who would have been struck by an image so happy. The chances are, I should suppose, that the importation happened during the nineties of the last century. Yet there are the two most inclusive of American and British dictionaries both innocent of any evidence. Dispersions like this are always something of a mystery. Do winds carry phrases like seeds? However that may be, in 1910 Gertrude Atherton published her novel "Tower of Ivory" without feeling any need to explain her title; in 1914 Henry James wrote all he ever wrote of "The Ivory Tower"; in 1917 Archibald MacLeish published a volume of poems called "Tower of Ivory."

CARL VAN DOREN

Books

Pacific Problems

- The Pacific Triangle.* By Sydney Greenbie. The Century Company. \$4.
China Awakened. By M. T. Z. Tyau. The Macmillan Company. \$5.
China's Place in the Sun. By Stanley High. The Macmillan Company. \$1.75.
Japan and the United States. By Payson J. Treat. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.
Russia in the Far East. By Leo Pasvolosky. The Macmillan Company. \$1.75.
The Influence of the Sea on the Political History of Japan. By G. A. Ballard. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$7.
The Twenty-one Demands. By G. Zay Wood. Fleming H. Revell Company. \$2.
China, the United States and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. By G. Zay Wood. Fleming H. Revell Company. \$2.
The Chino-Japanese Treaties of 1915. By G. Zay Wood. Fleming H. Revell Company. \$2.

THE thrice-told tale of the Far East is told here yet again with but little variation. Here you have the usual budget of books on China and Japan, swollen somewhat by the added interest called out by the Armament Conference. You have what may be called the reveille school of Far Eastern literature; periodically, you know, there is proclaimed anew the awakening of China. You have the neo-philosophic school of travel literature. You have political polemics, historical résumés, and assessments of military strength. The last is not without significance. To those who would catch the drift of future events it has great import that already the experts are weighing the chances of prospective opponents in a war in the Pacific.

How often in the last twenty years has China awakened again; awakened to the dawn of that glorious day in whose blazing noon lie the East Side of New York and the coal-fields of West Virginia. Let there be opened another wretched little mill outside some walled town on the Yangtze (working little children eleven hours a day for a wage of a few coppers)—progress. Let there be four schools where two were before (regardless of what they are teaching and how)—progress. Let there be five more newspapers in some Southern province (printing elaborately illustrated advertisements of Japanese quack medicines for venereal diseases and retailing the free propaganda of subsidized foreign news agencies)—progress. From missionaries in interior stations whose sense of values in comparative civilization was formed from observation in the villages of Arkansas and Missouri where they heard their "call," and from the foreign import and export aristocracies in the coast towns whose cosmogony is centered on the chamber of commerce—from them one has come to expect these trumpet-calls to "sleeping" China and paeans at its response. And from Chinese youths freshly smattered with the undergraduate learning of small American colleges. But not from one like M. T. Z. Tyau, who has had a thorough grounding in both Eastern and Western culture, has traveled widely, and has had ample opportunity to study society in both East and West.

With prodigious industry Dr. Tyau has catalogued in "China Awakened" all that missionaries and business men and junketing newspaper reporters have sung for these many years: the student movement, the increase in railways and factories and mines, the additional educational facilities, such as they are, the growth of chambers of commerce, the rebellion of the infinitesimal minority of the younger generation against the family oligarchy, the handful of "new" women. He has catalogued them with prodigious industry but with little critical sense and less sophistication. Numbers are his test. He accepts. What-

ever is changed is good. A foreigner who never has penetrated further into China than the semi-foreign Shanghai and deeper into Chinese culture than curio-shop pidgin-English might have done the same. Nowhere in his 470 pages do you get any sign of a glimmer of understanding that there may be a comparison of values between his own civilization and ours and that Occidentals themselves are beginning to ask whether they are not paying too great a price, in destruction and unnatural repressions, for the advantages of mechanics.

I do not mean to dispute that great changes are afoot in China and that there is much good in them. I do not wish to undervalue the healthy influence of the revolt of the younger generation against the dead load of the past. I am willing to concede that China may have to adopt much of Western forms and ought to, perhaps even all of them—though I am skeptical. But to me the easy self-complacency of the white man's assurance of his own civilization's superiority and the cheap snobbery with which he talks of the civilizations of other peoples are sickening. And the equally easy acceptance of that superiority by Chinese and their quick, unquestioning gulping of everything Western is even more sickening. However, for those who would know the directions which change in China is taking this is the most comprehensive book yet written. For those to whom the factory is God and Henry Ford its prophet this is the highest Revelation.

Of the same order is Stanley High's "China's Place in the Sun," though its subject matter is a little broader. Mr. High goes over the high spots of the history of the last few years, including the influence of foreign relations on that history, particularly Chinese-American relations. For those who want what college curriculums call a survey this book is useful. But it, too, is without sign of critical sense. Mr. High has read widely but not well and he quotes extensively but indiscriminately: John Dewey and a traveling "sob-sister" with equal weight. Even when he does not quote he says nothing that has not been said before, frequently by those who know not whereof they speak.

Sydney Greenbie's "The Pacific Triangle" is far more sophisticated. He has an open mind, a sense of doubt and imagination, and he writes interestingly in the new travel manner. The old school of travel-writer used his notebook for the recording of obvious surface phenomena: scenery and "color" and "native" life. The new school employs these as pegs whereon to hang rather obvious philosophizings. It is a growth to maturity, but for myself I get equally wearied with these overtones of "Come, let us be broad-minded, we have much to learn from these seemingly backward people." That is at bottom equally snobbish and patronizing. Mr. Greenbie is telling of a missionary couple in the Fijis who have sacrificed much for their religious zeal. "All men," says Mr. Greenbie, "all men who really believe anything suffer." Right.

Mr. Greenbie ranges far and quickly. He does the South Seas, Australasia, China and Japan, a few days here and there, and dips into politics, sociology, economics, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Far Eastern problems generally and Japanese-American frictions particularly. But when he drops the meditative tripper's role and takes to Japan and the Japanese, with whom he has lived and whom he understands, he is on ground safer to himself and more profitable to his readers. He is a shrewd student of things Japanese but a very thin philosopher.

Three or four years ago, when the bolshevik bugaboo was being brought out to frighten venturesome Americans who would go peering about in dark new ideas such as nationalization of railways and recognition of labor unions, one look at the Red ghost of the Far East was enough to frighten them back into the folds of the National Civic Federation's skirts. Leo Pasvolosky is three years too late. In 1919 his "Russia in the Far East" would have been a terrifying volume. It is rather flat now. Even so it is not without its uses. On the history of Czarist Russia's ambitions in the Far East and the play of forces in Siberia even now Mr. Pasvolosky is an authoritative

and penetrating writer. When he deals with Soviet Russia's policies in the Far East he is either incredibly innocent or unpleasantly artful.

No one denies that the dreamers of the Kremlin had grand and sinister designs for revolution throughout Asia. So also did Lenin and Trotzky ask all English visitors in 1919 when the commune would be set up in London. Mr. Pasvolosky records faithfully the strategies Soviet Russia hoped to employ in the Far East, but he does not make clear to readers what he must know, that those strategies were demonstrably fantastic. To the contrary, he leaves readers having no special knowledge of the Far East with the belief that they may be executed. For instance, it is true that the stirring up of anti-Japanese feeling in China and the overthrow of the pro-Japanese Anfu Government at Peking may have been in line with bolshevik strategy, but it is also true that anti-Japanese feeling in China has as much connection with the bolshevik hopes as the election of Mr. Harding and that the revolt against the Anfu Government would have come if there had never been a revolution in Russia and the Bolsheviki were never dreamed of. A dozen causes, all unconcerned with Russia, make for anti-Japanese feeling in China, and Chinese who never heard of Russia had been stirred to white heat by the treacheries of the Anfu Government. Yet Mr. Pasvolosky leaves the reader with the inference that those are the successful outworking of bolshevik designs. It is either inexcusable ignorance or deliberate and dishonest distortion. So also with Mr. Pasvolosky's interchanging use of the terms Orient and Far East. He tells of the unquestioned footholds the Bolsheviki won in the Near East and Central Asia, then shifts to the Far East without a change in terminology, thus leaving the reader to draw corresponding inferences with respect to the Far East. Yet any Shanghai schoolboy knows that a hundred American missionaries wield more influence in Chinese cities than the whole Third Internationale. Mr. Pasvolosky also does not tell that racially, culturally, historically, politically, and economically conditions in Central Asia and the Far East are incomparably different and that the two cannot be discussed in the same terms. And he crumbles his whole case by the admission that even Moscow has realized that in Central Asia, with all conditions favorable, bolshevik designs have proved delusions and that the soil is not fertile either for communism or a Red empire dominated by Russia. How much more impossible, then, such designs in the Far East! In short, he who still talks of China and bolshevism is either ignorant or spreading propaganda. Mr. Pasvolosky is, I think, the first. His innumerable inaccuracies, misstatements, and misinterpretations of Chinese political affairs tend to that conclusion. For those who know China intimately it is difficult enough to see clearly. For those who are as ignorant of its affairs as Mr. Pasvolosky, writing is perilous.

"Japan and the United States," by Payson J. Treat, is an excellent summary of American-Japanese relations up to the Russo-Japanese War. On events since the Russo-Japanese War Mr. Treat lets his feelings color his judgment. Conscious of the strain in Japanese-American relations and being a man of good-will, he resorts somewhat to the "traditional bonds-of-friendship" manner of phrasing and thinking. Objectivity and a willingness to understand the Japanese point of view are laudable. It is necessary also to remember that stones are being cast at Japan by those who are mired in sin. That need not deter the disinterested historian from weighing controversies on their intrinsic merits or looking at contemporary relations clearly. No honest historian will be more charitable to European imperialist depredations in the Far East than to Japanese imperialist depredations; neither will he out of sentimentality be forgiving to the latter. Mr. Treat is, to the extent of being misleading. Thus, when he says that after the exposure of the Twenty-one Demands Japan adopted a more moderate policy toward China, he says what is on the newspaper records shown to be incorrect. And when he cites as evidence of that the Nishihara loans of 1917 and 1918, he is ludi-

crous. Those were not so much loans as bribes to Chinese officials to bring about peacefully what the Twenty-one Demands failed to bring about forcibly. They were another method of approach to Japanese subjugation of China. The same false sentimentality and erroneous interpretations characterize all of the last three chapters. Mr. Treat's book is worth buying and keeping for reference, but the last seventy pages should be ripped out.

If any more arguments are needed to prove that the transaction of foreign affairs should be kept out of the hands of military men, there is "The Influence of the Sea on the Political History of Japan," by Vice-Admiral G. A. Ballard of the British Navy. Admiral Ballard has done some careful research into Japan's naval history, going back as far as there are records. He is most revealing in writing of the latter part of the last century, when foreign gunboats were steaming into Japanese harbors to give point to diplomatic arguments. Admiral Ballard has no sympathy with the lack of a "firm hand" shown by diplomats like Townsend Harris, the American minister, who were willing to reason patiently with the Japanese. "Dilatory though the Diplomatic Body had been," as he says in one form or another of all these negotiations before the gunboats were called in to debate with cannon. "Shoot 'em down," would have been the hardy old salt's guide to conduct. Small wonder he is philosophical about Japan's treatment of Korea and believes in giving Japan paramountcy in the Far East. Japan, you see, has a strong navy now. There's nothing like force to impress the hardy warriors.

G. Zay Wood's three volumes on the Japanese-Chinese treaties of 1915 and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance were prepared for use in connection with the Washington Conference. They are handy little reference volumes.

NATHANIEL PEFFER

Rough Romance

The Romance of Business. By W. Cameron Forbes. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$1.65.

The Trust Problem in the United States. By Eliot Jones. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

Advertising for Trade in Latin America. By William E. Aughinbaugh. The Century Company. \$3.

TO Mr. Forbes business is romance. To Dr. Jones it is cold realism. And to Mr. Aughinbaugh it seems to be a rough-house.

Mr. Forbes has indeed written his book in the best romantic manner. Since it is for boys and girls its Pollyanna sweetness may be excusable. But the pill of propaganda within is the more deplorable. The Foreword candidly admits the purpose "to correct the dangerous fallacy that property is an evil and business somewhat reprehensible." There can be no doubt of the author's sincerity. He believes that "business is service, that a trade is a good trade only if it is good for both parties, and that people should seek only what is fair and just." The service he sketches earnestly in several excellent chapters describing the development of textiles, steel, transportation, electricity, banking, and commerce. They are calculated to fascinate any normal child. Then while under the spell the child is fed the "dope": the sanctity [sic] of property rights; capital is stored-up labor (nothing about stored-up dividends); the socialists want everybody to divide up; government management has never succeeded; starvation in Russia is the result of bolshevist ignorance; laborers want to share profits, but never losses; it is lucky that all efforts to choke off trusts have been useless.

When wireless was first proposed, Mr. Forbes says, "to my practical mind the idea was utterly futile and absurd." It is evident that his mind is still practical.

As an antidote to an overdose of romance, read Dr. Jones's study of the trust problem. Unfortunately it will not be read by the children—not even by those many adult children who

play "follow my leader" in our best business circles. Mr. Jones is professor of economics in Stanford University. He has gathered a vast amount of valuable facts and figures, and has presented them fairly. The chief question on which he seeks to throw a light is, whether we should restore competitive conditions, regulate prices, or socialize the monopolized industries.

At this time of great confusion in our thinking about business such a book is doubly valuable. Competition is no longer the fetish that it was. The cry against big business, set up in 1890, has been dying away. Today the manufacturer is in higher favor than for many years, and it is the retailer who is getting the blame for the sins of business. This is largely due to the general knowledge of the history of the present depression. For eighteen months past manufacturers have been taking the losses. Merchants have for the most part insisted on their usual wide margins of gross profit, and, being closer to the consumer, have been able to force the manufacturer either to bear the brunt of lower prices or to shut down his plant. At the same time the people are beginning to see that the high costs of distribution are largely costs of competition, and that it is folly to have five grocery stores in a community that could be supplied by one, all selling the same commodities at prices which have been largely standardized by the competition of the manufacturers. Big business has "passed the buck" to little business.

Among others the trusts have been in the path of the white-wash brush. Dr. Jones strikes down the brush, and directs our attention to the sharp difference between big business and a trust. Big business is large-scale production, not necessarily by a monopoly. A trust is "a horizontal combination possessing monopolistic power." The purpose of a trust is to restrict or suppress competition, and thus to secure monopoly profits. There are other motives, such as ambition and the lure of reward for the promoter. For example, the underwriting syndicate which promoted the Steel Corporation realized a profit of \$62,500,000. But the chief object is to get rid of competition.

The defense of the trust is that it is able through reduced costs of producing and selling to offer the public lower prices. Mr. Jones shows that a trust does not operate with any greater economy than large-scale producers not enjoying a monopoly. The advantages of wholesale buying do not increase indefinitely. In production, a trust often has higher costs because it must acquire and operate the inefficient plants as well as the efficient. It is true that in selling, particularly in advertising, trusts have been able to reduce costs. But these savings are offset by disadvantages, such as inability to command the best services of officials working on salary, the expense of buying up badly located or antiquated competitors, the discouragement of invention, and failure, as Professor Clark puts it, "to make use of that invaluable agent of progress, the junk heap." On the other hand, Mr. Jones is able to confirm by clear instances the popular impression that trusts tend to increase prices. He traces the history of pools, and combinations, particularly of the oil, sugar, tobacco, shoe-machinery, harvester, and steel trusts, and covers fully the course of trust legislation and judicial action down to the Webb-Pomerene Act.

One result of all the agitation and legislation since the Sherman Act of 1890 has been to place all business on a higher moral plane. At the moment the one important addition before us is the proposal for Federal incorporation, which would go far to restore competitive conditions. The more remote alternatives are (1) government regulation of prices; (2) socialization of the monopolized industries. Neither of these would have suited Mr. Havemeyer, formerly head of the sugar trust. He said, in public testimony: "Let the buyer beware. You cannot wet nurse people. They have got to wade in and get stuck, and that is the way men are educated and cultivated."

It is exactly such education that Mr. Aughinbaugh would have American business take to our friends below the Equator. If there is to be censorship, the first book it should suppress is

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Formerly Literary Editor of The New Republic

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and the Philippines of today. He lets the reader see and feel what sort of people live in those countries, what is most worrying them, what is most helping them, how and why Americans should be intensely interested in them, etc. He writes, of course, from first-hand material after an extended trip through the Far East, and he writes with his usual fearless frankness. The pictures are unusually illustrative.

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"It occurred to me that if a saint could be found whose special duty was to prevent loss of life during seismic disturbances, much might be done through his aid to bring calm into these regions of terror. I selected my second name, 'Edmund,' as the cognomen for the new assistant deity, added the prefix 'Saint' to it, and wrote an appropriate earthquake prayer which was printed beneath the picture of the home-made saint. Of course, each card contained our advertisement [of a patent medicine] which the supplicant for protection must have seen as he prayed."

"I have known a priest to stop in the middle of a sermon, point an authoritative finger at a worshiper who was coughing, and say: 'When mass is over stop at Blanco's drug-store and buy a bottle of Father John's Medicine. It will positively cure you and others similarly troubled.' Could one ask a better advertisement from a more authentic source?"

"Any article of food or medicine, or anything else for that matter, can be registered under these so-called [Pure Food] laws, provided the members of the commission are properly propitiated. For this purpose no other method of approach is as well calculated to bring success as that of employing any well-known lawyer who stands in with the political party in power. Years of experience have taught him to know to a 'centavito' the price of each member on the board, to which must be added the legal fee, of course. That is the total sum it will cost you to secure a 'pure food' permit."

The prevalence of graft among customs officials is given as the excuse for the following scheme:

"When I have decided upon an advertising campaign in any given Latin-American country, the requisite amount of cards, hangers, booklets, posters, banners, and other materials are boxed and shipped to the various ports, consigned to some man of straw. Upon their arrival at the local port they will be stored in the customs warehouse to await claim by the alleged consignee. At the expiration of sixty, or ninety, or one hundred and twenty days, in accordance with the local laws, these goods will be advertised for sale to the highest bidder. By previous arrangement with your agent, or some merchant who has been advised of the dispatch of these goods to his port, they can be bid in very cheaply and delivered to the person most concerned with their use. In Venezuela, for instance, on one shipment alone the duties would have amounted to much more than one thousand dollars, yet the local wholesale druggist bought the entire consignment at auction for eighty-five dollars."

Mr. Aughinbaugh speaks politely of "the unscrupulous pirates and half-educated bounders who now hold down most of Latin-America's editorial chairs." Is he intent upon leading an invasion of North American business men possessing the same qualifications? If our business flag is to fly in foreign ports, let it be carried there rather by romantics than by rough-necks.

R. J. WALSH

The Cloister and the World

Vocations. By Gerald O'Donovan. Boni and Liveright. \$2.

IT is not surprising that this novel aroused something very like enthusiasm in the mind of Mr. George Moore. It has, without being at all imitative, a good deal of the quality of the work of his own middle period—the unrivaled firmness of touch, the faint, steady luminousness, the surgeon-like union of precision and cool tenderness. Mr. Moore is, in the best sense, an aristocratic writer. He shows no strain, no perturbation, no over-eagerness nor the evidences of the repression of these things. Mr. O'Donovan is very like him. His subject is a burning one, yet he remains calm. He is not tempted to unnecessary eloquence or futile indignation or any vain gestures. His craftsmanship has more than ease and finish; it has a fine spiritual timbre.

"Vocations," as Mr. Moore said, will not please Catholics. And indeed many earnest people will be horrified at Mr. O'Donovan's facts whether they admit them or not. But they need, as a matter of fact, not be troubled at all. For what Mr. O'Donovan says of the Irish town and the Mercy convent is true of the whole world and its institutions and anyone who uses his book, which is a work of broad and sustaining art, as a weapon of anti-Catholic propaganda will show nothing except the shallowness and vulgarity of his own mind.

Here, Mr. O'Donovan says in effect, is man as, let us suppose, God made him. And this is one of the most ancient and venerated ways of regulating and mastering life. How does it work? It doesn't work at all. It leaves the problem untouched. It has been demonstrably without the smallest influence in the particular sphere where it has wanted to exert most. Father Burke is a rather disgusting creature, but the excellent parish priest Brady sees quite clearly that even Burke is more victim than villain and thus not so very different from the ignorant, unawakened girls who enter the convent without knowing either life or themselves and then develop all the characteristic neuroses of repression. In them the instincts which can be mastered only through proper exercise become pervasive. But the novices in the convent who have their "particulars" and draw the very saints into the circle of their thin eroticism are quite like their sisters out in the world who, in one form or another, are subject to the same violent and reckless moral dualism. The mistress of the novices, the well-meaning Mother Calixta, says that her girls are happy and holy and at ease—except those who are tempted by the devil. Well, that is only a metaphorical way of saying what in general the non-Catholic world also says, namely, that certain varieties of human experience seem to it more beautiful and decorous than others. The point in both worlds is that the condemnations and repressions of the millenniums—literally of the millenniums—have done nothing to change the character of human experience. This is the reason why one finds it difficult to sympathize with the type of mind which still has faith in the old, negative gestures. Father Brady, a humble and orthodox man but a sage in his way, makes it admirably clear in his talk with the perfectly innocent, pathetically well-meaning Reverend Mother. You can shut the gates as tight as you please and so avoid unpleasant accidents. "It's what's going on in their minds and wills that matters." If the mind and the will have not been touched, what is the virtue of bolts and bars? Mr. O'Donovan implicitly raises the whole fundamental issue that these methods have not, as a matter of hard fact, availed. Man, in brief, was not made for the Sabbath but the Sabbath for man. This is the great Christian truth that Christendom has quite forgotten.

It must not be supposed that "Vocations" is an argumentative book. We are not told things in it; we learn them inevitably from the life that is shown. The picture of that life has breadth as well as precision. Its truth is sober, ripe, and of the utmost convincingness. Johanna Curtin is one of those

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H. S. CANBY

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a great philosopher of our time, pays this thoughtful tribute: "Far as I am from sharing its political faith, I find the Freeman far better written than anything I saw in my day: there is a consciousness in it of the world at large, and of the intellectual landscape, things I used to miss in America altogether."

NEW YORK TIMES

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characters who satisfy the mind wholly and permanently enrich one's knowledge of human nature. Kittie and Winnie Curtin, though their portraits are necessarily fainter and more delicate in tone, cling almost as tenaciously to the mind. If "Vocations" is a first novel, it is the work of an extraordinarily mature art.

L. L.

Drama On a Campus

OWING to the depressing conditions in Europe Dr. Jones had spent his sabbatical year in the East. He looked immensely fit and energetic as he joined Dr. Smith, one of his colleagues in the Department of English, on Locust Avenue. Dr. Smith, who had had no sabbatical year and, with his three children, saw no way of ever availing himself of idleness at two-thirds salary, felt both physically and mentally shabby beside the other's freshness and militant gloss. He was glad to let Jones talk; he might thus get the sense of a more immediate contact with the things which he studied with something like passion at so great and pale a distance. A single question on his part sufficed.

"Yes," Dr. Jones assented eagerly, "I've been rather interested in the theater. I think there can be no question in regard to the improvement in the theatrical situation. Of course there's a good deal that is bizarre and extreme. But I dare say that's a sign of vitality. I saw for instance a whole series of very striking American plays—Oh, very striking indeed. I'm rather thinking of a talk on the subject. There was, let me see—there was 'The Hero' and 'Daddy's Gone A-Hunting' and a thing called 'Ambush' by quite a new playwright, I believe, and Susan Glaspell's 'The Verge' and Eugene O'Neill's 'Anna Christie'—you've heard of him, no doubt—and then quite recently another thing of his—most extraordinary, too—called 'The Hairy Ape.'"

Dr. Smith nodded and knocked the ashes from his pipe. "Yes, I've read a good deal about 'em all." He felt almost wistful. "Damned fascinating stuff it must be."

His friend looked straight ahead. "Oh, exceedingly. Although I can't help feeling that these new playwrights, very much like the new novelists—Sherwood Anderson and that crowd, don't you know—are apt to stress the unusual and the painful. However, I dare say our minds need a shaking up. You take the plays I've mentioned. 'The Hero' deals with the ugly moral cowardice of one of our boys who won distinction in France and pulls up just short of adultery; Miss Akins's 'Daddy's Gone A-Hunting' tells the story of a callous, perfectly callous, adulterer who really in the end pulls his wife down to his own level; in 'Ambush' a very excellent man is reduced to unspeakable degradation by his thoroughly immoral wife and daughter; in 'The Verge,' so far as I can make anything of it, a woman goes mad because she hasn't the courage of her own lower impulses; 'Anna Christie' is frankly the story of a woman of the streets; and 'The Hairy Ape' is proletarian propaganda with a scarcely veiled defense of the I. W. W. No doubt our views need to be broadened on all subjects. But I'm not convinced that such subjects are quite necessary or quite—how shall I put it?—quite American. We're a fairly prosperous, fairly decent people and such art doesn't, upon the whole, represent us or our lives."

Smith smiled. He had the same old feeling about Jones. The fellow made him feel so incompetent, so muddled. Jones had such perfectly vigorous, upstanding, gentlemanly yet carefully uneffeminate opinions on all subjects. No wonder he did well in the profession. He'd be a dean some day. Smith felt very feeble.

"I was a little inclined to take a different view of some of these things. But of course I know them only from criticisms and descriptions."

Dr. Jones nodded. "I'm sure you'd agree with me if you saw them. By the way, Smith, I had a long talk with the President

this morning. He's very much troubled by a number of things and he rather leans on me in a way, don't you know?"

"What's the trouble?"

"Oh, nothing strictly academic. Our summer school registration promises to be the largest in the history of the university. But the President has the personal welfare of everybody very much at heart, as you know. And there seem to have been a number of most unfortunate occurrences among the faculty recently. Do you know Hawkins—he's in Animal Husbandry—got the Croix de Guerre? Well, he seems to be drinking and acting very cruelly to his wife. Then Mrs. Fellows appealed to the President. Fellows coolly refuses to live with her on grounds that are really too indelicate to mention, and threatens, the selfish cad, to take his sabbatical year in Europe alone. The worst thing is that the Trustees are determined not to reappoint dear old Professor Higginbotham if he doesn't pay his debts. The President quite realizes the scandal. He has repeatedly warned Mrs. Higginbotham that her unscrupulous extravagance will destroy her husband professionally. Nothing seems to do any good. I suppose you've heard that Grant's wife—Grant is one of our best engineers, too, invented a marvelous lubricant—is half mad with hysteria and threatens suicide unless, as she puts it, she can get away from respectability and lubricants for awhile. To make matters worse the President is bitterly disappointed in Hausheimer. I always said the fellow was not fit—whatever his equipment as a psychologist—to be Dean of Men. You see, the Dean of Women naturally stamped out these really shocking 'petting parties.' Now a good many men students have been seen downtown in more than questionable resorts. And Hausheimer has the audacity to say that the expulsion of the culprits is an act of folly and will not change human nature. He insists that some of our most brilliant students are involved in this matter and that they are the same who, as members of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, practically insulted the President because he would not permit Scott Nearing to lecture on the Campus. I quite agreed with the President when he said that the American people could dispense with brilliancy of that sort. What we, as a university, want to produce is sound common sense, good citizenship, and Christian character. Ah, is this your corner? Of course it is. Do remember me to Mrs. Smith. See you at faculty meeting tomorrow" LUDWIG LEWISOHN

LECTURES and AMUSEMENTS

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Is the failure of socialism in Russia, as evinced by the recent partial return to capitalism, due to the fallacies of Marxian theory?

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HARRY WATON,
Marxist, says: NO

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International Relations Section

Chinese Labor Wins

THE American public knows almost nothing about the recent labor troubles in China growing out of the strike of seamen and dock-workers at the port of Hongkong. This ignorance must be due to a censorship of news, for no mere negligence on the part of press agencies and correspondents could account for the thin stream of facts sent out of China on the progress of a strike that tied up the great ports of Hongkong and Canton and spread until other localities were affected and all industries were drawn in. The strike began when the shipping companies at Hongkong refused the demands of the workers for increases in the following ratios: 40 per cent for men receiving less than \$7 a month; 30 per cent for men receiving between \$7 and \$13; 20 per cent for men receiving more than \$13. The Chinese shipowners met with the spokesmen of the workers and after some negotiation agreed to a substantial increase, although less than the men demanded. The British owners were obdurate. The men walked out on January 3 and shortly afterward the Chinese Seamen's Union at Hongkong issued the following manifesto:

Public notice is hereby given that we seamen, owing to the necessity of maintaining our livelihood, have demanded an increase of wages from the shipping companies. Our demand is not too excessive and our action has been so slow that a settlement might have been easily effected through negotiations. But as the shipping companies, taking advantage of the fact they are under foreign jurisdiction, have not yet yielded a bit, we seamen have declared a general strike.

We have now heard that our reasonable demand has been set at naught in Hongkong and foreigners have been appointed to take our places, such as on board the Hongkong-Canton steamers, the Kinshan and Heungshan, on which British naval crews and Royal Marines have been engaged to resume service between Canton and Hongkong. This sufficiently illustrates the forcible methods of the capitalists and the biased help of the Hongkong Government to enable them to carry out their wicked plan against the laboring classes. If they can now use it against us seamen, they may do the same thing toward the various classes of laborers in future. We are, therefore, compelled to issue this appeal for mutual help from the various classes of fellow laborers in order to enable us to attain our object. This is the time when we laborers should help each other.

The strike spread to other classes of labor both at Hongkong and at Canton, where the strikers flocked to take refuge. Even domestic servants walked out, and the British residents in Hongkong discovered its complete dependence upon the Chinese population. The British Government at Hongkong used violent measures to protect the shipowners in their efforts to import strikebreakers and to oppose the activities of the strikers. The progress of the struggle is described in an interesting letter addressed to Mr. Gompers by the Chinese seamen in New York.

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
WASHINGTON, D. C.
DEAR SIR:

Permit us the liberty to submit for your serious consideration the matter of the Hongkong seamen's strike, which is threatening daily to be of tremendous consequence to the shipping of both sides of the Pacific, and at the same time goes to the very root of the labor movement of the world. In reality,

the question goes deeper than just a mere increase of wages, as we shall presently reveal in the contents of this letter.

We are primarily moved to appeal to the American Federation of Labor for sympathetic support on behalf of our fellow seamen in China because we are familiar with the American sense of fair play. We know that American labor cannot tolerate any form of tyranny wherever it may happen to be.

May we not, therefore, bespeak your keen sense of justice and generosity to lay before American labor these details of the Hongkong seamen's strike?

Since January 3 the strike has been going on, and the Chinese seamen have made repeated as well as patient efforts to make the British shipowners in Hongkong see the reasonableness of their demand for an increase of their wages. We say reasonable to ask for a slight increase of wages at this time because the cost of living in China, like anywhere else, has gone up by leaps and bounds since the war. Our fellow seamen at home simply find it an extreme difficulty to live on \$7 to \$15 a month. As a matter of fact, their present wages do not even permit them to drag out a bare existence, especially when food, clothing, and rent have gone up over 100 per cent, particularly in the trading ports on the China coast. In consequence, the Chinese Seamen's Union in Hongkong and Canton demand that both the Chinese and British shipowners should accede to the following terms on a graduated scale of wages: That a 40 per cent increase should be given to all hands receiving less than \$7 as wages per month; a 30 per cent increase to those receiving under \$13, and a 20 per cent increase to those whose wages are over \$13 per month.

Instead of settling the affair with the Chinese seamen by arbitration and similar peaceful means, the British authorities have resorted to such force and repression as displayed in the Amritsar affair in India. The British officials still cling to the belief that coercion alone can cow the Chinese people into submission. The Hongkong Government has enacted drastic legislation and forbidden Chinese citizens leaving the Colony without permit. Attempt has also been made to prevent trains running to Canton from Hongkong and interfere high-handedly with the freedom of movement of the Chinese passengers between Hongkong and Canton. The Hongkong Government is so stubbornly determined to break the strike that it has raided the headquarters of the Chinese Seamen's Union and arrested the leaders. Simultaneously the British shipping companies in Hongkong are importing strikebreakers from Shanghai and other ports along the Yangtze River.

These arbitrary and unjustifiable measures have aroused Chinese indignation not only in Hongkong and Canton but throughout the entire country. The feeling of the Chinese people is running so high that servants and cooks of British families and hotels in Hongkong have also left their work in protest at the autocratic and high-handed measures of the British authorities. Only this morning we received a telegram from Hongkong advising us that Chinese employees of British banks have just gone on strike in sympathy with the seamen. This sympathetic strike is spreading to adjacent ports.

Our fellow seamen in China are resolved to hold out until they can get a living wage. They are appealing to workers of the world for support. They are fighting not only their own battle, but also that of the workers of every part of the world. They are fighting for the constitutional right to better their condition by amicable means—a right recognized by all civilized societies. For these reasons we, Chinese seamen, held a mass meeting in Mott Street yesterday condemning the action of the Hongkong Government as despotic and arbitrary and sent an appeal to the labor bureau in England to see that a more humane treatment be accorded to their brother seamen in Hongkong.

In justice to the Chinese seamen in China and in order that the rights of labor may be upheld, we Chinese seamen in the

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United States urge upon American labor to take whatever action they deem fit to help cope with this extremely serious situation.

Respectfully,

CHINESE SEAMEN'S INSTITUTE

New York, March 8, 1922

The strike ended in an apparent compromise which was in fact a victory for the workers. The British authorities have agreed to recognize and deal with labor unions in Hongkong, to grant one-half the demanded increase in wages, to form a board of arbitrators to settle future difficulties, and to remove the Governor of the Colony for his autocratic methods of breaking the strike. The spirit in which this settlement has been accepted by the British is indicated in the following excerpt from the *Hongkong Weekly Press* for March 11:

The strike settlement is a painful subject for any British journalist to have to comment upon. Only one opinion on the subject prevails among people of all nationalities in the Colony, and that is that it is deeply humiliating to the Government and to the foreign community generally. For the present we content ourselves with putting this general opinion on record, and await from the Government and the shipowners an authoritative account of the negotiations and the reasons which dictated the settlement so that a clearer comprehension of the present position may be gathered. . . .

It is difficult to write with restraint on a settlement which is so humiliating to British pride and prestige, a settlement moreover which is pregnant with possibilities of constantly recurring trouble in the future. We have now the Servants' Guild putting forward a demand for an eight-hour day and a general increase of 30 per cent in the wages paid to domestic servants, and withholding sanction for the return of servants till this is generally conceded. . . . The domestic servants have shown a disloyalty to their employers unparalleled in the history of any country. Even in the Indian mutiny, native servants showed a loyalty to their British employers which puts the Chinese to shame.

Many years have passed since Hongkong had an experience comparable to what we have just passed through. Then the Colony was small and withdrawal of essential workers and the effort to starve the foreign community were clearly directed by the governmental authorities at Canton. Then the "gunboat policy" was an effective instrument for securing respect for law and order. Much suspicion of the present Canton Government has been current among Europeans respecting its responsibility for the latest episode, but we have been repeatedly assured that such suspicions are entirely groundless, and that the most that can be alleged against the Canton Government is that it has adopted "a liberal policy toward labor." In the circumstances the movement can only be regarded as a mob effort, and the conclusion to be drawn from it is that if so-called governments in China cannot, or will not, control such boycotts, the duty devolves upon the League of Nations or the group of Powers signatory to the Washington agreements relating to China, to consider how organized movements of this kind are in future to be dealt with if confidence in China, politically and commercially, is not to be utterly destroyed.

China and Soviet Russia Agree

FOR some time past negotiations have been in progress between Soviet Russia and China regarding various matters, among them the question of the presence of Red troops in Mongolia. *Shanghai's Zhishen* on February 14 printed the following amicable correspondence between General Lee-Youan, representing China, and Mr. A. Paykes, representing the Soviet Government. It will be noticed that the Chinese representative refers to Mongolia as a

part of the "territory of China" whereas Mr. Paykes specifically recognizes the authority in Mongolia of the People's Revolutionary Government.

Peking, February 2, 1922

MR. A. PAYKES, SPECIAL PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA.

DEAR SIR:

Having had the honor of carrying on negotiations with you on the question of the evacuation of Urga and Kiaghta I am quite convinced by your assurances that the Soviet Government had no aggressive intentions in regard to Mongolia and that you are authorized by the Soviet Government to declare that the Soviet Government is willing to remove its troops from the territory of China. As a representative of the central Government of the Republic of China I have the honor to inform you that your declaration not only bears witness to your sincerity and the friendly intentions of your Government, but that it has been received with a feeling of joy by our people which sees in Russia a sincere friend. In order that this declaration may be officially confirmed I have the honor to ask you to put it in the form of a document and, if possible, remit it to me.

GENERAL LEE-YOUAN

To this Mr. Paykes made the following reply:

Peking, February 7, 1922

GENERAL LEE-YOUAN.

DEAR SIR:

During my conversations with you I have repeatedly pointed out the friendly feelings of Soviet Russia toward the Chinese people. I hope that you do not doubt the sincerity of my assurances of the friendly attitude of the Russian people. Replying to your letter of February 2, I inform you again that the Soviet Government has no aggressive intentions as regards Mongolia and that it looks forward impatiently to the moment when the Peking Government will reach an agreement with the People's Revolutionary Government of Mongolia at the request of which the Soviet troops temporarily remain in Mongolia to help in the dissolution of the White bands and in maintaining order.

A. PAYKES,

Special Plenipotentiary of the R. S. F. S. R. in China

Birth Control in Mexico

AMERICAN newspapers have recently given some attention to the agitation in Mexico concerning birth control. They have not, however, told the whole story. Some reformers in Merida, Yucatan, secured a pamphlet written some years ago by Margaret Sanger. They translated this into Spanish and had it published by the Mayab Press. It was quietly circulated and fell into the hands of some bitter opponents, who petitioned the District Attorney to prosecute the men responsible. The local press at once took sides for or against birth control, publishing articles and cartoons, and between ardent advocates and virulent opponents the public was thoroughly aroused on the question and everybody had a chance of learning all about birth control. In the meantime the District Attorney had sent the petition to the Governor of the state, who at once sent instructions to refuse it. In compliance with these instructions the District Attorney issued a statement that was printed in full by the papers of the state and by many of the other newspapers of Mexico. Following are extracts from this statement:

The Attorney General's office cannot shape its manner of procedure to the narrow-minded and antiquated moral criteria—the result of deep-rooted religious prejudices—which crop out in your petition. The Executive of the state wishes to have

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it made clear that prosecutions arising solely from moral fanaticism such as filled with horror the vast period of clerical domination of the Middle Ages have gone forever. As long as the present Socialist Government directs public destiny the Attorney General's office will not undertake any prosecution for futile ideas of morality, since prosecutions in the name of morality have at all times been the most odious pretext used by religion to destroy its enemies. . . .

The problem of the birth-rate to which the pamphlet refers pertains most profoundly to the proletarian groups, and it is natural that the conservative and reactionary classes of society which have an advantage through the excessive birth-rate among the working classes should set up a cry to heaven in defense of their selfish interests. It is natural that they should try to impede the movement of emancipation, denouncing it as an attempt against morality, in order that they may maintain their prerogatives; for as long as the phenomenon of excessive birth-rate remains, it permits them to keep the workman in slavery, paying a paltry price for the fruits of his hands, and just so long will the economic emancipation of the workman be delayed.

It is a fact worthy of observation that the rich, the privileged, the capitalists, those who live in comfortable circumstances, while they limit their birth-rate without moral qualms themselves, judge it a matter of the greatest immorality that the poor, the exhausted, the miserable, the underfed, the workers should try to limit their birth-rate. Yet the latter birth-rate, taking place among the worst conditions, constitutes one of the causes why the species degenerates, as it is impossible to feed and educate a numerous offspring in a proper manner. . . .

The reports of the agitation published in American newspapers stated that many birth-control pamphlets had been distributed in the public schools. The distribution was confined to the teachers, as is clear from the District Attorney's statement. He writes: "In the aforesaid petition you make the crime of insulting public morals and decent customs consist in 'the positive fact that the pamphlet was distributed and explained to the public and to educational centers' for which reason according to you 'it must be considered obscene,' an erroneous criterion which the Attorney General's office cannot accept because it is contrary to the text of Article 429 of the Penal Code which you invoke. . . ."

In virtue of these facts the Executive of the state judges that your denunciation, issued with the purpose of securing, in the name of morality, the prosecution of a printed publication for a supposed crime that has no legal basis, constitutes merely an episode in that strife of the classes in which the blind forces of the past have united to engage in their last battle against the redeeming ideas of humanity. . . . If the accusation had been made for purely moral reasons, however erroneous, you would undoubtedly not have stirred the waves of scandal in order to secure public attention for a matter which in this way has found in you its most active propagators. The morals of your religion would have forbidden you, and it is not consistent that you, full of pharisaical scruples, should demand, in the name of that morality, the punishment of a deed in which you were participants. . . .

Consequently the government of the state charges me to inform you as an answer to your petition that the District Attorney's office cannot take cognizance of the accusation which you have been pleased to make, or institute a prosecution for the alleged crime under the press law, in the name of supposed morality; but that at all times the most profound respect for the free expression of ideas, which you propose to trample underfoot, has inspired its actions, and that it will follow a course from which such denunciations as yours cannot dislodge it; the only exception being serious cases of disturbance of public peace and tranquillity.

March 11, 1922

ARTURO CISNEROS CANTO,
District Attorney



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The Last Hope in Hungary

AFTER three years of terror and oppression the Hungarian Government has dealt a final blow to democratic institutions by a new franchise law imposing educational and financial requirements and allowing open voting in the country districts. Several leaders among the liberal spirits of Hungary, now in exile in Vienna, have issued a last desperate appeal addressed "To the Democratic and Anti-Militarist Public Opinion of the World." It was printed in English in *Bécsi Magyar Ujság* (Vienna) for March 19 and we reproduce it in its original form.

It is nearly three years that the Hungarian nation has bent under the cross forced upon it by the White counter-revolution. Under the false pretext of extirpating communism, the *ancien régime*, consisting of big land-owners, militarists, and clericals, has again come to power, and has turned its forces not only against excesses of communism, but has also exterminated the new democratic and anti-militarist system which was built up as a result of the October revolution in 1918. This revolution started the land reform of the big estates and strove to democratize the feudal Hungarian constitution on the basis of general equal franchise with the secret ballot, thus handing over the power to the masses of the people.

The victorious counter-revolution not only annihilated the work of the October revolution but instituted a barbarous state of affairs much worse than the reaction of the pre-war and war periods. It militated openly against the life, property, and liberty of those who dared to stand for the rights of the people during the revolution.

This history of the last three years will always remain one of the most shameful paragraphs in Hungarian history. Terror brigades were formed for the persecution of innocent people. The system of torture was introduced, and even the raping of women was resorted to as a method of obtaining obedience. Mass murders and pogroms were organized. Hundreds of people were exterminated without any judicial procedure. Democratic and republican politicians have been persecuted. Two Socialist leaders were drowned in the Danube. Journalists, known for their outspokenness, incorruptibility, and honesty have been kept in prison for years. In internment camps thousands of innocent people have been condemned to slow death. . . .

But the counter-revolution has not been satisfied merely with terror against individuals. It has sought to institutionalize and render permanent this horrible state of affairs. Police brutality has annulled all freedom of meeting, press, and strike. Instead of a real land reform a class of minor feudals has been created for the protection of the big landed proprietors. Instead of popular self-government, flogging has been reintroduced as punishment, and instead of the separation of church and state the Numerus Clausus has been employed to exclude Jewish grammar-school and university students. The lodges of the Freemasons have been occupied by armed forces, and similar has been the fate of scientific institutions and libraries disliked by the regime. With open force and hidden chicanery, the counter-revolution has undermined the trade unions and the cooperative societies. A law has been brought for the imprisonment of such people as dared to criticize the government of the White Terror before the outside world. While the White forces have been organizing Hapsburg coups, the Hungarian Republican Party has been dissolved.

These facts, almost incredible to the outsider, are affirmed not only by us, who had to emigrate from our country, but they have also been stated by the leaders of the Hungarian parliamentary opposition, and even by such conservative and counter-revolutionary politicians as Count Albert Apponyi, Rakovszky, former Home Secretary Beniczky, and others, who have constantly reiterated these allegations. . . .



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During the last three years we have looked upon the unexamined misery and degradation of the Hungarian people with grave anxiety, without being able to communicate the true state of affairs in Hungary to the democratic and anti-militarist opinion of the world. But during these dark years of privation and exile we have derived comfort and strength from the conviction that this wild and immoral system would dig its own grave. Our hopes have not been in vain. The public opinion of Hungary has openly broken away from the false patriotism and false Christianity of the White Terror. The system of the counter-revolution has collapsed morally and economically. Everyone in Hungary has known for some time that the new National Assembly which must soon follow the old parliament, born in terror and the psychosis of post-communism, would smash the artificially revived *ancien régime* in Hungary. The democratic and liberal spirit of the country is again in movement, and at the recent by-elections all of the government candidates were defeated. The spirit of the October revolution is abroad again everywhere, and there has been hope that the feudal and militaristic policy would be eliminated by legal and constitutional means.

But events have developed differently. The few thousands of counter-revolutionary officers and officials who were using terror above the heads of the working population of Hungary were not willing to relinquish their privileged position. The Horthy camarilla under the leadership of that same Count Bethlen who, during the rule of Count Tisza, was the most feudal oppressor of national minorities and who was the exponent of an out-and-out war policy has not hesitated to force a coup d'état and to decree a new franchise, which revokes the previous universal, free, equal suffrage, and requires a high education test and establishes open voting in the rural districts. It is open to administrative chicaneries that will enable the terrorist bands and feudal cliques to bring a majority into the parliament and establish it as an instrument of the counter-revolutionary system. By this anti-legal means Hungary has been set back into a condition even more reactionary than that of the ill-famed Tisza regime. If this ukase goes into effect, Hungarian feudalism can instal itself in the institution and spirit which, according to the judgment of the civilized West, played an important role in the tragic events of 1914. Indeed, if this attempt of Hungarian feudalism is successful, Europe faces the danger of another war. . . .

The coup d'état of Count Bethlen will shatter the ethnical and moral forces in the Hungarian nation and will make it impossible that in Central Europe the spirit of conciliation and understanding should take up the fight against jingoism and racial rancor. On the contrary the question of small nationalities will become more acute than in the past. . . .

Even the old-time politicians and diplomats who stood on the basis of the morals of force, recognized this truth. After the fall of communism the Clark agreement pledged Hungary to instal the new regime in harmony with the constitutional provisions of Western democracies. Later on, in the Trianon Treaty, League of Nations clauses, provisions were taken that freedom of conscience and politics would be granted to the peoples of Hungary. But this democratization will be made impossible by the franchise-putsch of the Horthy regime. If the fiendish plan succeeds, Hungary must navigate once more between the Scylla of social revolution and the Charybdis of a new war.

Horrified by this outlook we turn to the peaceable democratic, socialist, and humanitarian public opinion of the world, asking that peace-loving people in all nations do all in their power to avert the terrible danger which menaces the future of the Hungarian people and of Europe. . . .

MICHAEL KAROLYI, former President of the Hungarian Republic

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Soviet Russia has fought her way valiantly through to a right to life and an opportunity to lay the foundation of a better world. Genoa had to be and Russia had to be there. Cowering behind their painted masks and meek beneath their blatant boasts, the capitalist diplomats flocked around the hated representatives of Soviet Russia to bargain insidiously against each other for the best terms they could get.

This is the hour to strike for victory. Now is the time for the workers of the world to put their policy of "Bread and Iron" into effect. "Bread and Iron" can win. With the workers' backing, "Bread and Iron" will surely triumph.

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On to the second half of the workers' policy! Now for the "Iron." Give "Iron" to strengthen the First Workers Republic. Soviet Russia grievously needs "Iron"—everything from nails to locomotives, from pins to dynamos. Tools and machinery of all kinds are sorely wanted and must be had to convert the vast realms of Russia, over one-fifth of the whole habitable world, into a flourishing labor commonwealth.

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